THE CAREER OF IBN QASĪ AS RELIGIOUS TEACHER AND POLITICAL REVOLUTIONARY IN 12TH CENTURY ISLAMIC SPAIN

presented by

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" ...es inútil preguntar si el misticismo
es acción o es contemplación, porque es
contemplación activa y acción contemplativa."

- Miguel de Unamuno

.....it is useless to ask whether mysticism
is action or contemplation, because it is
active contemplation and contemplative action.

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P R E F A C E

I am deeply grateful to all those who have assisted and encouraged me in the production of this thesis. Thanks go especially to my academic advisers, Professor W. Montgomery Watt and Mr. J.R. Walsh. Mention should also be made of Dr. Ismail Erünsal, who supplied a microfilm of the Kal' an-Na'layn, and Dr. Ṭal'at Abū Farḥah, who kindly discussed that work with me. Gratitude must likewise be expressed to my close friend, Mr. 'Adnān Kālid 'Abd Allāh, with whom I am currently translating Ibn al-'Arīf's Maḥāsin al-Majālis into English. I should also like to thank Miss Irene Crawford for typing this thesis, and Miss Margaret Dowling of Inter-Library Loans, Edinburgh University Library, for her assistance. Finally, I must thank my dear wife Charo, who has assisted me in more than she knows.

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I have attempted to keep the mechanics of this work as simple as possible. Abbreviations are minimised and follow those of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (2nd edition). After initial entries, shortened titles are often used in footnotes. The Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana (B.A.H.) was frequently consulted, so the following system has been adopted for purposes of its notation:

Vols. I-II	Ibn Baškuwāl
Vol. III	aḍ-Ḍabbī
Vol. IV	Mu'jam
Vols. V-VI	Takmila
Vols. VII-VIII	al-Faraḍī

Transcription from Arabic follows the modern European system, as found in Wehr's Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. Passages in Arabic are usually followed by a translation into English. Arabic chapter headings from the manuscript are vowelised as they appear, with obvious mistakes being noted. Dating is normally given only according to the Christian calendar. Place-names in Spain and Portugal are generally rendered in the modern languages of those countries.

All English translations of Qur'ānic passages are from N.J. Dawood's Koran (Penguin edition, 1978). When an āya is cited, the Qur'ān has been abbreviated as Q. All Biblical quotations are from The New English Bible (Oxford-Cambridge University Presses; New Testament, 1961; Old Testament, 1970).

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ERRATUM: Read Ibn al-Kaṭīb for al-Kaṭīb.

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A B S T R A C T

The present thesis examines the career of the Andalusian mystic and politician, Ibn Qasī, dwelling particularly on his role as a revolutionary figure in the Almoravid period of Islamic Spain. He was able to achieve much of his popular support by virtue of the esteem in which he was held as a spiritual teacher in the mystical doctrines of Islam, and the present study examines his life as both politician and Sufi. Particular attention has been given to Ibn Qasī's only surviving work, the Kal' an-Na'layn, which has been analysed and partially translated in an attempt to establish his place in the spectrum of Islamic mystical doctrine.

The importance of the role played by such men in the political life of Andalusia has long been recognised, and it is the purpose of the present study to give a further precision to the biography of one such leading figure. The transition from Almoravid to Almohad domination in Spain is clarified by isolating, as here, the religious currents which paralleled, and often intermingled with, the patently political objectives.

PART ONE

SECTION I : IBN MASARRA

One of the most interesting institutions of Western Islam was the rābiṭa. The term was originally used to describe a chain of frontier forts that collectively represented the boundaries of a state. It was to such remote places that many heterodox Muslims retired, and so the term gradually acquired the sense of "monastery" or "hostel". In al-Andalus the institution of the rābiṭa not only provided an escape from Mālikite orthodoxy; it also gave important military support during the extended conflict of the Reconquista.[1] The hermits of these rawābiṭ have been called the precursors of Western Sufism.[2]

Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Masarra (883-931) was one of these early Andalusian ascetics. It is possible that he was not an Arab, for his father ʿAbd Allāh is

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1. See the article "Rábitas Hispanomusulmanas", by L. Torres Balbás, in Al-Andalus, XIII (1948), pp. 475-491. This article notes the frequent confusion between rābiṭa (hermitage) and ribāṭ (frontier or coastal fort), as the functions frequently overlapped. "Hubo casos, sin duda, en que los ribāṭs se organizaron a base de una rābiṭa y con un morabito como jefe; el hecho inverso de un ribāṭ reducido a ermita por haberse alejado de sus inmediaciones la frontera enemiga, o por otras circunstancias, también es natural que se produjera." (p. 476)

2. Menéndez Pidal, Historia de España, vol. V, p. 311.

described as a man with blond hair and reddish skin.[1] About the year 854, while still a youth, ʿAbd Allāh left his native Córdoba in the company of his brother Ibrāhīm, a merchant. Together they went about the Orient, and while in Basra ʿAbd Allāh became attracted to the teachings of the Muʿtazilites. After returning to Córdoba he formed a friendship with the Muʿtazilite Kalīl al-Ġafla[2] and broke with orthodox Islam. Although ʿAbd Allāh gained various disciples,[3] he was careful not to profess his beliefs publicly. His son, Muḥammad, was born on 19 April 883 and proved eventually to be the ideal disciple for his father's esoteric philosophy. ʿAbd Allāh trained his son in both theological speculation and ascetic devotion. While Muḥammad was still a young man, his father fled al-Andalus to escape his creditors, but before departing, ʿAbd Allāh gave all his books to his son. He died in 899 at Mecca.

Ibn Masarra was approximately sixteen years old when his father departed. The formative period of his life from 899 until 912 is not covered by the biographer al-Faraḍī (No. 1202). Besides his father, only two of Ibn Masarra's teachers are named: Muḥammad Ibn Waḍāḥ and al-Kushanī, both orthodox Mālikite jurists. The

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1. Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, al-Faraḍī, No. 650.
2. ibid., No. 417.
3. For biographies, see ibid., Nos. 306, 895, 1068, 1216.

biographer, taking up the story in 912, shows Ibn Masarra surrounded by a few disciples in a school (madhab)[1] on the Sierra de Córdoba. Ibn Masarra was given the laqab al-Jabalī because of his retiral to the Sierra. The disciples presented an image of pious asceticism, but suspicions soon arose that Ibn Masarra was teaching such heresies as the Mu'tazilite doctrine of free-will. These suspicions coincided with a period of widespread resistance to the central power of Córdoba. The amīr 'Abd Allāh may have feared that the mystics and ascetics would make common cause with the insurrectionists, chief among them being the Banū Qasī of Aragon, Ibn Marwān of Galicia, and Ibn Ḥafṣūn of Ronda. It is known, for example, that the ascetic Abū 'Alī as-Sarraj actively opposed the amīr.[2] Ibn Masarra, being both an ascetic and a muwallad, feared persecution by the authorities, and he fled the vicinity of Córdoba, ostensibly to make the Pilgrimage. Ibn Masarra's flight was specifically prompted by a refutation of his dogmatic errors, written by the eminent theologian of Córdoba, al-Ḥabbāb (860-934).[3]

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1. Al-Faraḍī, No. 1202, says of Ibn Masarra: و فتح مذهبه

2. Ibn Ḥayyān, Al-Muḳtabis, pp. 102, 127, 133, 138.

3. B.A.H., aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 396.

Ibn Masarra (with two disciples[1] - Muḥammad Ibn Madīnā of Toledo and Ibn aṣ-Ṣayqal of Córdoba) took the pilgrimage route along the North African coast, stopping at the most celebrated centres of law and theology. In Qairawān, it is known that he attended the lectures of the famous theologian, Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr Ibn Ziyād.[2] After leaving Qairawān, he is known to have made his way to Madina. Without specifics, the biographers tell us that he went about the Eastern countries seeking out the most notable masters of theology and philosophy, especially Mu'tazilites and other heretics. It can be assumed, however, that Ibn Masarra visited Mecca and met Abū Sa'īd Ibn al-A'rābī (d. 952).[3] This Ibn al-A'rābī was an orthodox Sufi who had been a disciple of Junayd and Thawrī. Ibn Masarra also visited many of the sacred shrines of Islam, taking a special interest in the house at Madina of Māriya the Copt (mother of Muḥammad's son Ibrāhīm).[4]

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1. For biographies, see B.A.H., Takmila, No. 339 (Ibn Madīnā) and No. 326 (Ibn aṣ-Ṣayqal).

2. Al-Marrākušī, Kitāb al-Bayān al-Mughrib, 1948 ed., Lévi-Provençal, vol. I, pp. 194-195.

3. See aš-Ša'rānī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 100, and as-Sulamī, Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfiyya, pp. 443-448, for biographies of Ibn al-A'rābī.

4. Takmila, No. 339, and al-Maqqarī, Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne, vol. I, p. 560.

It is not known exactly when Ibn Masarra returned to Córdoba. It can be assumed, however, that his return corresponds to the pacification of al-Andalus during the early years of ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III's amirate. Ibn Masarra resumed his ascetic life and his teaching in the hermitage of the Sierra, trying to represent himself as a simple holy man. He seems to have had such an eloquent command of mystical allegory and paradox that he could even preach under the guise of apparent orthodoxy. Only in extreme secrecy, however, did Ibn Masarra openly reveal the secrets of his allegories to a select group of disciples. We are told that one of these disciples, Ḥayy Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, covertly obtained a copy of Ibn Masarra's Kitāb at-Tabṣira, much to the master's disapproval.[1]

The principles of the small religious community of Ibn Masarra seem to have been:

1. A new method of ascetic discipline (ṭarīqa)
2. Human free-will (istiṭāʿa)
3. Rejection of the physical punishments of hell
4. Spiritual perfection through ascetic practices.

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1. See Takmila, No. 113. Other disciples named are Kalīl Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (d.c. 934) (see ibid., No. 186); Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawrūrī (d. 968) (see ibid., No. 347); and Aḥmad Ibn Muntīl (d. 955) (see al-Faraḍī, No. 127). It is also known that ʿUthman Ibn Saʿīd of Elvira (d.c. 937) (see ibid., No. 897) maintained correspondence with Ibn Masarra.

Asín has shown that the ṭarīqa of Ibn Masarra corresponded in large measure with his contemporaries, the Sufis Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Misrī (d.c. 860) and Nahrajūrī (d. 941). The most notable similarity is in the method of examining conscience as a means of elevating the soul to the stage of purity.[1]

The populace of Córdoba were divided in their opinion about Ibn Masarra. One group considered him to be an imām - a master and guide in dogmatics and morality. On the other hand, the Mālikite theologians and the majority of the common people condemned Ibn Masarra and his school as heretical. The publication of Ibn Masarra's works (now lost) brought passions to a head; three of the titles are known:

1. Kitāb al-Mūqannīn, dealing with the unity and the infinity of the divine attributes.[2]

2. Kitāb at-Tabṣira, possibly the mysterious key to Ibn Masarra's esoteric system.

3. Kitāb al-Ḥurūf, probably a cabalistic manual of numerology.

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1. Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 101: "The sign of true knowledge is sincerity of will, and a sincere will cuts off all secondary causes and severs all ties of relationship, so that nothing remains except God. Dhu 'l-Nún says: 'Sincerity (ṣidq) is the sword of God on the earth: it cuts everything that it touches.' " For biographies, see as-Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt, pp. 23-32 (Dhu 'l-Nūn) and pp. 392-395 (Nahrajūrī). See also Asín, Abenmasarra y su Escuela, Appendix 5: "Vida y doctrina de Dulnún el Egipcio y de el Nahrachurí."

2. Ibn al-Mar'ah of Málaga (d. 1214), master of Ibn Sab'īn and a commentator on the Mahāsin of Ibn al-'Arīf, referred to this work (see Massignon, Recueil de Textes Inédits..., p. 70). Asín, Abenmasarra..., fails to mention the book.

These works quickly began to circulate outside Córdoba and soon arrived in the Orient. One of the "orthodox" Sufis of the East who condemned Ibn Masarra's errors was Abū al-Hasan at-Tustarī.[1] It seems, however, that Ibn Masarra's works were not burned during his lifetime, nor was he ever officially condemned as a heretic. He died at the hermitage, surrounded by his disciples, on 20 October 931, and was buried after the mid-afternoon prayer of the following day.

Because of the mystery surrounding Ibn Masarra's doctrine, the esoteric nature of his writings, the small number of his disciples, and the taint of heresy, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct his system. As not even fragments of his works have survived, one has to look for traces of his teachings in the works of other heterodox Sufis of al-Andalus. Ibn al-ʿArabī in his Futūḥāt, for example, invokes the authority of Ibn Masarra more than once. All this obscurity has given rise to disagreement among the various Orientalists who have been concerned with Ibn Masarra. Goldziher[2] feels that he came under Neoplatonic and Ismāʿīlian influences in the Orient. He goes on to say that Ibn Masarra professed an exaggerated system of Quranic allegory and was the first to introduce a latent movement of free-thinking into al-Andalus. The

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1. Aš-Šaʿrānī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 66.

2. Ibn Tūmart, Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumert, p. 68.

most exhaustive examination of Ibn Masarra was Abenmasarra y su Escuela, published in 1914 by Asín Palacios. Many of Asín's conclusions were later challenged by Affifi in his work The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dín-Ibnul 'Arabí.[1] Most of Asín's deductions about Ibn Masarra's theological system are derived from Ibn Ḥazm (Fiṣāl), Ibn al-'Arabī, and a statement by Ibn Ṣā'id[2] that Ibn Masarra was an example of those Muslim Bāṭinīs who were inspired by Empedocles. Tracing this passage to al-'Āmirī, Stern has challenged Ṣā'id's example of Ibn Masarra as a follower of Empedocles.[3] Stern says that bāṭinī can mean either a Neoplatonic Ismā'īlī or simply a Ṣūfī, and that Ṣā'id has made a wrong association in the case of Ibn Masarra. He concludes that "Asín Palacios has built up an impressive picture of the history of Neoplatonism in Spain, with Ibn Masarra looming large as a great initiator of a philosophical movement - but this picture is based on an illusion."[4] Despite Stern's objections, there is still

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1. Affifi has produced the most authoritative study of Ibn al-'Arabī. His comprehension of Asín's works, however, seems less than perfect because of an apparent deficiency in Spanish. He refers, for instance, to Señor Asín with a French title and a maternal appellation - as "Monsieur Palacios". (...Ibnul 'Arabí, p. 178)

2. Livre des Catégories des Nations, p. 59, and Kitâb Ṭabaqât al-Umam, p. 21.

3. Actas - IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, pp. 325-337.

4. ibid., p. 327.

much to recommend Asín's position. Ibn Masarra was indeed a Sufi, but he was also extensively exposed to Neoplatonic and Ismā'īlī influences through his Mu'tazilism. It is true that the Ismā'īlīs were especially persecuted by the Spanish Mālikites (owing to the Fāṭimid threat), but their ideas definitely filtered into al-Andalus. Owing to orthodox pressures, the heterodox intellectual currents of al-Andalus - Sufism, Neoplatonism, Aristotelianism, Mu'tazilism - all tended to flow in the same stream bed.

References to Ibn Masarra's theological system appear in Ibn Ḥazm and in Ibn al-'Arabī,[1] which, while neither copious nor direct, are virtually the only ones available. Chapter 272 of the Futūḥāt, for example, describes the most sublime mystical stage - arriving through ecstatic intuition at awareness of the absolute simplicity and Oneness of God; Ibn al-'Arabī calls this stage تنزيه التوحيد. Asín describes this intuitive concept of the One as the cardinal thesis of all Mu'tazilite and Bāṭinī theology.[2] In the same chapter of the Futūḥāt reference is made to Ibn Masarra's Kitāb al-Ḥurūf.

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1. See the excellent critique, "Ibnul 'Arabí and Ibn Masarra", on pp. 178-183 of Affifi, ...Ibnul 'Arabí.

2. See Asín, Abenmasarra..., pp. 67-69, for a translation and discussion of this section of the Futūḥāt; cf. ...Ibnul 'Arabí, pp. 75-77, and Massignon, Recueil..., pp. 70-71.

In Ibn Ḥazm's Fiṣāl the following is attributed to Ibn Masarra, through an interpolation of the doctrine of Ismā'īl al-Ru'aynī: "«El Trono de Dios (العرش) es el ser que gobierna o rige (المدبر) [sic] el cosmos. Dios es demasiado excelso para que se le pueda atribuír acción alguna ad extra.»" [1] It is not known, however, precisely how Ibn Masarra considered al-'Arš, the First Material of pseudo-Empedoclean philosophers. Ibn al-'Arabī, referring to Ibn Masarra, makes al-'Arš the first universal body in his cosmology, and specifically deals with al-'Arš in the thirteenth chapter of his Futūḥāt entitled "Concerning intuition of the supports of the Throne":

> We have learned through oral tradition derived from Ibn Masarra al-Jabalī (who was one of the greatest Ṣūfī masters because of his knowledge, his ecstatic qualities, and his illumination) the following: "The supported Throne of God is really the kingdom of all creation, which can be reduced to body, spirit, substance, and degree. Adam and Isrāfīl support the bodies; Jibrīl and Muḥammad are the supports of the spirits; Mīkā'īl and Abraham are concerned with provisions; Mālik and Ridwān deal with punishments and rewards." [2]

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1. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 70.
2. Translated from the original in Al-Futūḥāt, vol. II, p. 348; cf. Abenmasarra..., p. 72. The pairings are very interesting: Adam with Isrāfīl, angel of the last day; Muḥammad with Jibrīl, angel of revelations; and Abraham with Mīkā'īl, patron of the Israelites. See "Malā'ika" by D.B. MacDonald in E.I., 1st ed., vol. III, pp. 189-192.

The above description corresponds to a spurious Ḥadīṯ, which claims that the Throne of God is supported by four legs in this life and by eight at the Day of Judgment.[1] Thus, each leg of the Throne possesses a double reality - being both exoteric and esoteric. The first three pairs of legs have a man to represent external reality and an angel to represent internal reality; the last pair are both angels - Mālik (custodian of hell) and Ridwān (custodian of paradise).

In addition to Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn al-ʿArabī and Saʿīd, Asín uses the following Eastern references to reconstruct the pseudo-Empedoclean system of Ibn Masarra:

1. aš-Šahrazūrī (d. 1117), Rawḍa[2]
2. aš-Šahrastānī (d. 1153), Milal[3]
3. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 1270), Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ[4]
4. al-Qifṭī (d. 1248), Taʾrīkh al-Ḥukamāʾ[5]

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1. Cf. Q. 69:17 which says that eight angels will bear the Throne on the Day of Judgment.
2. Ibn Kallikan, Biographical Dictionary, tr. de Slane, vol. II, pp. 29-32.
3. ibid., pp. 675-677.
4. See Uṣaybiʿa, Ṭabaqāt, 1882 ed., vol. I, p. 37, for reference to Ibn Masarra.
5. Affifi, ...Ibnul ʿArabí, p. 180, states that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa and al-Qifṭī seem to have borrowed all they knew about Empedocles and Ibn Masarra from Ibn Saʿīd's Ṭabaqāt.

Empedocles was, for the Muslims, the first of the ancient Greek philosophers - followed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. It is suspected that Ibn Masarra modelled himself directly on the philosophic and ascetic principles of various pseudo-Empedoclean philosophers. The most original feature of Masarrite philosophy consisted in exploiting a somewhat obscure theorem attributed to Empedocles in the Eneadas of Plotinus: the existence of a spiritual material common to all beings, except God. On this idea, Ibn Masarra seems to have constructed his cosmology of the universe, as well as his doctrines of free-will and purification of the soul.

Following Mu'tazilism, Ibn Masarra reacted against the textual fatalism of the Qur'ān and developed the distinction of two divine "sciences"; essentially, God could be omniscient without excluding the possibility of human free-will.[1]

The ascetic rules of Ibn Masarra's ṭarīqa seem to have been derived largely from Dhu 'l-Nūn's emphasis on sincerity (ṣidq) as the way to purifying the soul.

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1. See Asín, Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia Crítica de las Ideas Religiosas, vol. V, pp. 90-91; and cf. Q. 6:73, "He has knowledge of the visible and the unseen."

" El examen de conciencia que recomendaba Abenmasarra no tenía por objeto la correción y enmienda de los vicios o pecados mortales, sino la purificación de la intención con que se practican las virtudes y las obras devotas." [1] Asín goes on to say that this Sufi doctrine owes much to the teaching in Matthew 6:22-23. Through purification of the soul it was then possible to attain the gift of prophecy and even become the mahdī.

One of Ibn Masarra's most heretical doctrines involved the negation of all rewards and punishments in an after-life. This position derives from his emphasis on the soul and its search for re-incorporation with the spiritual world. Consequently, the concepts of resurrection, physical punishments in hell, and physical rewards in paradise were irrelevant to Ibn Masarra's outlook. The same concepts, however, formed the basis of the social control exercised by orthodox Islam.

The following is a summation of Ibn Masarra's principal doctrines, derived by Asín largely from aš-Šahrazūrī and from aš-Šahrastānī:

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1. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 81.

1. Concept of the One[1]

Following Plotinus, the cosmos is the result of an emanation and is composed of five hierarchical substances: (i) First Element (al-ʿUnṣur), (ii) First Intellect, (iii) Rational Soul, (iv) Animal Souls, (v) Vegetative Souls.

2. The Throne of God

Al-ʿArš represents the First Material and is responsible for the origin, conservation and end of the cosmos.[2]

3. Free-will

Ibn Masarra denies to the One the science of emanated beings, because this science is an essential attribute of the Intellect.

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1. See Affifi, ...Ibnul ʿArabí, pp. 180-182, which claims that this concept was Neoplatonic but not Empedoclean. Affifi specifically states that the complementary doctrine of the unity of the divine Attributes was developed by the Muʿtazilites. He says that the human soul as a manifestation of the Universal Soul is Neoplatonic (not Empedoclean) and closely associated with the thinking of the Ikwān aṣ-Ṣafā'. Furthermore, the doctrine of the three souls is essentially Aristotelian. (Asín should not be overly criticised, however, as he is careful to refer to Ibn Masarra's ideas as pseudo-Empedoclean and therefore Neoplatonic.)

2. ibid., p. 183: "...the only thing Ibnul ʿArabí seems to have borrowed from Ibn Masarra is the divine Throne symbolism on which Ibnul ʿArabí puts his own interpretation;..."

4. Paradise and hell

A purification from all that is corporal is sought, arriving at an absolutely spiritual eschatology that denies physical rewards and punishments.

5. Prophecy

The ability to perform miracles and the gift of prophecy can be acquired through purification of the soul, independent of divine selection.

Ibn Masarra had no descendants to continue his doctrines; this task was left to his written works and to a few of his personal disciples. The Masarrite school, however, was favoured by the political situation in al-Andalus. When Ibn Masarra died in 931, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III had consolidated his control even to the extent of calling himself caliph. In addition to this pacification of al-Andalus, the crown prince al-Ḥakam showed an exceptional tendency towards scholarship. Theological and philosophical speculation came to be generally tolerated, with a corresponding decrease in the repressive powers of the Mālikite theologians. Following Asín, some of the known Masarrites who lived during the tenth century were:

1. Ṭarīf al-Qurṭubī of Rota[1]

   He was noted for his asceticism and his knowledge of the works of Ibn Masarra. (See Takmila, No. 281)

2. Muḥammad al-Fanī (d. 982)

   He introduced grammar and literature from the Orient, and is said to have taught traditions along Masarrite lines. (See al-Faraḍī, No. 1329)

3. Ibn Ukt ʿAbdūn of Pechina (d. 986)

   After returning from the Orient, he was forced to repent Masarrite teachings by the Córdoban qāḍī Ibn Zarb. (See ibid., No. 179)

4. Rashīd b. Fataḥ ad-Dajjāj of Córdoba (d. 986)

   He taught traditions suspected of being Masarrite, but the qāḍī gave his funeral oration. (See ibid., No. 437)

5. Abān b. Saʿīd of Medina Sidonia (d. 987)

   Described as a man of letters and subtle polemicist, he also passed as a Masarrite. (See ibid., No. 54)

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1. The coastal rābiṭa of Rūṭa (modern Rota in Cádiz) was an important Sufi centre, later visited by Ibn al-ʿArabī about 1193.

6. Ibn al-Imām al-Kawlānī of Córdoba (917-990)

Learned in history and philology, he was a declared Masarrite - even to the extent of praying in the direction of the astronomical Levante. (See ibid., No. 1359. This orientation away from the qibla is unexplained but may have been common to Ibn Masarra and to his early disciples.)

7. Muḥammad al-Qaysī Ibn Kayr of Jaén (d. 992)

Appearing to be orthodox, he made two long study-trips to the Orient; buried with orthodox rites. (See ibid., No. 1364)

8. ʿAbd al-Azīz (d. 997)

A declared Masarrite and great-grandson of Muḥammad I, he was much given to the study of both dogmatic theology and speculative philosophy. (See ibid., No. 834)

The spiritual monopoly of the Mālikite theologians was not broken, however, and attention was soon turned to stopping the advance of Masarrite doctrines. The first to persecute the Masarrites was Ibn Zarb (929-991),[1] who later became supreme qāḍī of Córdoba upon the death of

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1. See ibid., No. 1361, and aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 325.

al-Ḥakam II in 976. The famous grammarian Abū Bakr az-Zubaydī of Sevilla (928-989)[1] wrote a refutation of Masarrite ideas which he entitled Hatk Sutūr al-Mulḥidīn (Tearing away the veils of the heretics). A third opponent was the famous traditionalist of Talamanca, Abū ʿUmar Ibn Lubi (951-1037),[2] who wrote a voluminous work revealing the occult heresies of the Masarrite system.

Muḥammad Ibn Yabqā Ibn Zarb was the most indefatigable persecutor of the Masarrites. As early as 961, he and az-Zubaydī, with the approval of the aged ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III, were able to detain the best-known Masarrites. The prisoners were forced to make public retractions and were obliged to burn any works by their master Ibn Masarra. In 979, there followed an even more severe blow to philosophy in general and Masarrism in particular. Following the death of al-Ḥakam II, the power of the young caliph Hishām II was first suppressed by a regency and then by the dictatorship of al-Manṣūr. Ibn Zarb and az-Zubaydī found themselves in exceedingly strong positions; the former was supreme qāḍī and the latter was tutor to Hishām II. Furthermore, the dictator al-Manṣūr was anxious to secure the sympathy of the masses through their spiritual directors. Beginning about 979,

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1. Ibn Kallikan, Biographical Dictionary, tr. de Slane, vol. III, pp. 83-85.

2. Aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 347.

these factors produced a fearful religious inquisition. The Mālikites were directed to expurge all libraries of heretical materials - even the magnificent collection of al-Ḥakam II. Ṣā'id picks this period as the point of departure for a decadence of philosophical studies in Andalusia, a decadence that was to last until the period of the Taifas. Philosophy became an "underground" discipline until it resurfaced in the petty kingdoms that flourished after the caliphate's disintegration. The following philosophers are known to have suffered:

1. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ismā'īl b. Badr, al-Uqlīdī, the "Spanish Euclid"

   This famous geometrician is especially known for a work based on Aristotle's Organon. He was forced to leave Córdoba and took refuge in the East. (See Ibn Ṣā'id, ...Catégories des Nations, pp. 128-129)

2. Abū 'Utmān Sa'īd b. Fatḥūn b. Mukram as-Saraqusṭī, al-Ḥammār

   Author of a book on music and an introduction to philosophy (Tree of the Science), he was jailed as an atheist. When his protests of orthodoxy finally gained him release, al-Ḥammār had to seek refuge in Sicily, where he died. (See ibid., p. 129)

3. Ibn al-Iflīlī of Córdoba

> Writer, theologian and philosopher, he was denounced as the master of an atheistic group of poets, including Sa'īd al-Ḥammār (above); Qāsim (of the Umayyad royal family); Muḥammad of Pechina; and Ibn al-Kaṭīb. All narrowly managed to save their lives - at the cost of prison terms and humiliations. (See aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 1296)

In this atmosphere of intolerance and active repression, the disciples of Ibn Masarra largely dispersed or hid their views. Eventually, the Masarrite school would shift from Córdoba to Almería. The last Masarrite nucleus in Córdoba seems to have consisted of members of a single family; all were either sons or nephews of the famous Mundir Ibn Sa'īd al-Ballūṭī (886-966),[1] who had once been supreme qāḍī of Córdoba. Often referred to as a Mu'tazilite, al-Ballūṭī seems to have actually been a Zahirite who participated in some Masarrite practices. This compatibility of various schools, specifically the Mu'tazilite and the Masarrite, has been recognised by Asín: "Esta relación entre el motazilismo español y el masarrismo fué tan evidente, que, según dijimos, Abenházam la afirma y la demuestra en su Físal (IV, 198 y 80)

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1. Al-Faraḍī, No. 1452; aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 1357; al-Maqqarī, The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, vol. I, pp. 181, 189, and vol. II, pp. 138, 147, 161, 468.

respecto de la doctrina del libre albedrío profesada por Abenmasarra. El hecho de ser masarríes y motáziles los hijos de Bellotí confirma la relación..." [1] The reference to Ibn Ḥazm is particularly appropriate; initiated as a Mālikite, he passed to the Shafi'ites before becoming one of the best-known Zahirites.

The eldest of al-Ballūṭī's sons was Ḥakam (d. 1029),[2] a famous poet, physician, lawyer and theologian. He became chief of the Mu'tazilites of his time and followed the ascetic practices of Ibn Masarra. His brother Sa'īd,[3] noted for the eloquence of his prayers, was killed in 1013 during the sacking of Córdoba by the Berbers. A third brother, 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1044),[4] was especially given to a life of meditation and prayer. The fourth brother was 'Abd al-Malik,[5] who had been ṣāḥib ar-radd under al-Ḥakam II; he was crucified in 978 by al-Manṣūr for his part in a conspiracy to elevate a grandson of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III to the caliphate. Finally, a cousin of these four brothers, Muḥammad,[6] had studied the esoteric books of Ibn Masarra.

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1. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 94, note 2; see also Appendix 2 ("Primeros Motáziles Españoles") and Appendix 3 ("Primeros Ascetas Musulmanes Españoles").
2. Takmila, No. 389, and B.A.H., Ibn Baškuwāl, No. 332.
3. Ibn Baškuwāl, No. 470, and Takmila, No. 389.
4. Ibn Baškuwāl, No. 809.
5. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 95.
6. Takmila, No. 389.

SECTION II : ISMĀ'ĪL AL-RU'AYNĪ

About a century after the death of Ibn Masarra, significant changes seem to have been made to his original doctrines. Owing to persecutions in Córdoba towards the end of the tenth century, the Masarrite school developed into a hierarchical, secret society. With the total collapse of the Córdoban caliphate, the Masarrite nucleus was shifted to the secluded village of Pechina near Almería. The most interesting innovation at Pechina was the figure of the imām, who was obeyed implicitly and who even received the ten per cent tax (zakāt). The Masarrite imām who lived during the time of Ibn Ḥazm was Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ru'aynī,[1] who is especially notable for the radical modifications that he introduced to the system of Ibn Masarra:

1. Ismā'īl's doctrine of the Throne of God seems similar to that of Ibn Masarra. Al-'Arš (also called the First Material or Primal Intelligence) was seen as the being that governed the universe, God being too sublime to attribute any action to Him. It was on this point, however, that a split developed in the group at Pechina.

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1. Asín, Abenházam...Historia Crítica, vol. IV, pp. 246-250, and vol. V, pp. 91-93.

2. Ismā'īl's group declared heretical the doctrine that God knows from all eternity everything that is going to exist, before it actually exists. Ismā'īl's notion of free-will was but a simplification of Ibn Masarra's original idea of God's two sciences, the universal and the particular.

3. The gift of prophecy, attained through purification of the soul, was given an exaggerated importance by the Masarrites of Pechina. It is said, for example, that Ismā'īl knew the language of the birds - a sure sign of sanctity and prophecy.[1]

4. Al-Ru'aynī apparently held that all private property was illicit, so it mattered not whether goods were acquired by work, commerce or robbery. Asín describes this as an absurd aberration of the mystical doctrine of poverty, probably resulting from the economic disintegration of the times.[2]

5. Temporary marriage (nikāḥ al-mut'a) was authorised, following Oriental precedents and al-Ru'aynī's own particular antinomianism.

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1. Q. 27:16 and 24:41.

2. Abenmasarra..., pp. 100-101.

6. " He who dies has already been resurrected." This was essentially the view of both Ibn Masarra and al-Ruʿaynī; the human soul was seen as freed by death for a return to the Universal Spirit. Consequently, the orthodox positions concerning heaven and hell, resurrection of the body, and a Judgment Day were rejected by the Masarrites.[1]

7. Ismāʿīl further maintained that the world would never be annihilated but would instead continue indefinitely (a modified pseudo-Empedoclean idea).

The denial of private property and the acceptance of temporary marriages are especially indicative of the radicalisation wrought upon Masarrism by al-Ruʿaynī. Following a break with the more intellectual elements at Pechina, Ismāʿīl seems to have sought the support of the general populace. These common people were evidently more responsive to al-Ruʿaynī's prophecies and miracles, and they were obviously drawn by the prospects of free goods and free-love. One can assume that al-Ruʿaynī took advantage of the general state of anarchy in Andalusia and probably organised his followers as a group of brigands.

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1. See Affifi, ...Ibnul ʿArabí, pp. 163-170, for a description of how Ibn al-ʿArabī also denied the reality of heaven and hell.

The larger issue to be considered here is the relation of heterodox philosophy to a religious society. During Ibn Masarra's lifetime, society tolerated his ideas only from a position of security established by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III. The subsequent weakening of the caliphate brought persecutions against the heterodox elements. The power vacuum brought on by the fitna led, finally, to a loss of social restraints and to a radical degeneration of the Masarrites.[1]

The excesses of al-Ruʿaynī were decisive for the death of the Masarrite school as a cohesive organism. The question is then whether the ideas of this school had any further continuity and influence. Asín, among others, maintains the vitality of diffuse Masarrism, saying that it founded other systems similar in thought, if not in name.[2]

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1. Asín, Abenmasarra..., pp. 97-98.

2. ibid., p. 107.

The key to this whole discussion is the city of Almería,[1] originally the watch-tower of Pechina (mariyyat Bajjāna). Later developed into a naval arsenal, Almería was officially founded as a city by the caliph ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III in 955. This rapid growth from port to suburb to metropolis meant the decadence of Pechina, six miles inland on the wādī Bajjāna. Al-Idrīsī, writing about 1150, describes Pechina as consisting only of a great mosque amidst ruins; he says that all its inhabitants have moved to Almería.[2]

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1. See the following:

   (i) al-Idrīsī, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, pp. 239-241, and Geografia de España, pp. 188-189.

   (ii) Al-Andalus, articles by L. Torres Balbás: "Estructura de las Ciudades Hispanomusulmanas", XVIII (1953), pp. 167-168 (for Almería); "La Mezquita Mayor de Almería", ibid., pp. 412-430; "Almería Islámica", XXII (1957), pp. 411-457.

   (iii) Soledad Gibert de Vallve, "La ville d'Alméria à l'Époque Musulmane", Cahiers de Tunisie, vol. 18 (1970), pp. 61-72.

2. Geografia de España, p. 191.

Almería was probably the most powerful of all the Taifa kingdoms that filled the vacuum produced by the collapse of the Andalusian caliphate. Despite its austere terrain, Almería enjoyed an especially favoured location. At a safe distance from Christian incursions, its port replaced Sevilla as the hub of Andalusian trade with the Mediterranean. This commerce fostered various industries, including the manufacture of pottery, copper utensils and textiles. There was also extensive agricultural activity along the nearby Almería River. Al-Idrīsī tells us that, in all of Spain, the people of Almería were unsurpassed in riches, industry and commerce. It was under the Almoravid occupation (1091-1147) that the city reached its zenith, a glory still reflected by the large numbers of fine tombstones and gold dīnārs surviving from that period.[1] It was

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1. See the following:

   (i) L. Torres Balbás, "Cementerios Hispanomusulmanes", Al-Andalus, XXII (1957), pp. 131-191.

   (ii) "Ceremonias Funebres de los Arabes Españoles", in Ribera, Disertaciones y Opúsculos, pp. 248-256.

   (iii) Vives, Monedas de las Dinastías Arábigo-Españolas, and La Moneda Hispánica, passim.

   (iv) The praise rendered to Almería in aš-Šaqundī, Elogio del Islam Español, pp. 112-114.

   (v) Lévi-Provençal, Inscriptions Arabes d'Espagne, chapter XVI, deals with the extensive Arabic inscriptions that remain from Almería.

also under the Almoravids that Almería became the most important Sufi centre of al-Andalus. About 1063, Ibn Ḥazm had already described Muḥammad Ibn ʿĪsā ("the Sufi of Elvira") who preached in Almería on the mystical union with God in anthropomorphic terms (tašbīh).[1] This preacher may well have been one of those popular radicals resulting from diffused Masarrism, as he was obviously a contemporary of Ismāʿīl al-Ruʿaynī.

It has been established that the population of Pechina was absorbed by Almería, and that this process was taking place during al-Ruʿaynī's lifetime. It can safely be assumed that Masarrite doctrines generally followed the same course. The radical disciples of al-Ruʿaynī must have propagated his ideas in and around the region of Almería, in a like manner as Muḥammad Ibn ʿĪsā. Further continuity of Masarrite ideas, in the formal context of a Sufi school, is most probably derived from those conservative relatives of al-Ruʿaynī who split with him at Pechina: Abū Harūn, his son; Aḥmad, his son-in-law; and Yaḥyā, his grandson. Ismāʿīl's daughter, described as a mutakallima of exceptional abilities, was the only member of his immediate family who continued to

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1. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 108, and Abenházam... Historia Crítica, vol. V, p. 102.

support him.[1] The schismatics from the radicalism of Pechina were largely intellectuals who could not accept the distortion and fanaticism to which Masarrism was being subjected. It seems likely that these outcasts from Pechina retreated to the urban setting of Almería and there professed "orthodox" Masarrite ideas to some unknown extent. As for the followers of the imām of Pechina, their radical ideas became so inarticulate and so dispersed that they could no longer be identified with Ibn Masarra. So if Masarrite doctrines survived collectively to some degree, they most likely did so in Almería.

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1. See Asín, Abenházam...Historia Crítica, vol. IV, pp. 246-250. Ibn Ḥazm's informant on this matter was Ḥakam Ibn al-Ballūṭī (d. 1029), leader of the Masarrite remnant at Córdoba. He, as well as Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl of Orihuela ("one of the principal Masarrites"), also seem to have disagreed with al-Ru'aynī.

SECTION III : IBN AL-ʿARĪF

By 1100, Almería had become the centre of Sufism in al-Andalus,[1] having inherited at least some of the teachings of Ibn Masarra. During the eleventh century, Andalusian thought had been enriched by numerous Oriental sources. Especially notable are the Epistles of the Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ, introduced into Spain either by al-Majrīṭī (d.c. 1008) or by his disciple al-Kirmānī (d. 1066).[2] Before the death of al-Ġazālī in 1111, his works also began to circulate in the Islamic West, and his doctrines "...seemed to infuse fresh, youthful blood into the old Spanish esoteric school, imparting to it a new vitality and, above all, a firm resolve to resist the persecutions of the fuḳahāʾ."[3] This resolve was soon tested when the Almoravid sultan Yūsuf Ibn Tāshufīn, about the year 1106, approved the burning of al-Ġazālī's greatest work (Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm ad-Dīn) by the Córdoban theologians. In response, the theologians

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1. During this time, the Sufi centre of the Maġrib was the school at Fās, later headed by the famous Abū Madyan (c. 1126-1197), called the pole (quṭb) of his time.

2. For biographies, see Uṣaybiʿa, Ṭabaqāt, 1958 ed., pp. 14-17 (al-Majrīṭī) and pp. 18-19 (al-Kirmānī).

3. E.I., 2nd ed., vol. III, p. 712, from the article "Ibn al-ʿArīf", by A. Faure.

of Almería, led by al-Barjī, drafted a fatwā condemning the act of the Córdoban qāḍī Ibn Ḥamdīn; this was the only collective protest heard in Almoravid territory.[1]

The spirit of Ibn al-ʿArīf was formed in Almería's atmosphere of religious enthusiasm and philosophic inquiry. His full name was Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣanhājī,[2] indicating that he was a member of the Ṣanhāja tribe. His father Muḥammad served as al-ʿarīf (chief of the night watch) in Tangier and later formed part of the garrison at the alcazaba of Almería, where his son was born on 24 July 1088. He was apprenticed to a weaver but showed such devotion to scholarly pursuits that he was finally allowed to study theology, philology and poetry under accredited

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1. Al-Barjī was from the town of Berja, about 27 miles due west of Almería; see B.A.H., Muʿjam, No. 253, for his biography. For further details of this affair, see Lévi-Provençal, Islam d'Occident, pp. 254-255; Codera, Decadencia y Desaparición de los Almorávides en España, pp. 215-221 and 357-365; Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 108.

2. For biographical information, see: aḍ-Ḍabbī, No. 360; Muʿjam, No. 14; Ibn Kallikan, Biographical Dictionary, tr. de Slane, vol. I, pp. 150-151; introduction to Ibn al-ʿArīf, Maḥāsin al-Majālis; Nāṣirī, K. Istiqṣā, in Archives Marocaines, vol. 31, pp. 218-219; Ibn Baškuwāl, No. 175; Ibn al-Muwaqqit, Al-Saʿādat al-abadīya, pp. 109-112; at-Tādilī, At-Tašawwuf Ilä Rijāl at-Taṣawwuf, No. 18; Deverdun, Inscriptions Arabes de Marrakech, pp. 17-21. Asín, Obras Escogidas, vol. I, p. 219, mistakenly describes the Ṣanhāja as a Berber branch of the Arabian Ḥimyar tribe.

masters in Almería. The Precious Stones, by Ṣā'id al-Bagdādī,[1] is one of the works known to have formed his literary education. Eventually, Ibn al-'Arīf became renowned as a calligrapher, jurisprudent, traditionalist, poet and reciter of the Qur'ān. He even served for a time as ṣāḥib as-sūq (inspector of weights and measures) at Valencia.

Yet Ibn al-'Arīf was most known as a mystic and ascetic. He was initiated into Sufism by Abū Bakr Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, whose chain of masters includes Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad Ibn al-A'rābī, whom Ibn Masarra probably met in Mecca.[2] One can assume some similarities between the esoteric doctrines of Ibn Masarra and those of Ibn al-'Arīf, especially in the light of later developments at Pechina. Ibn al-'Arīf was also one of the first Western interpreters of al-Ġazālī's mysticism, and he created a ṭarīqa that had many followers throughout al-Andalus. He taught at Almería, Zaragoza and Valencia; besides Ibn Qasī, his most famous disciples were:

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1. Ṣā'id resided at the court of the Córdoban dictator al-Manṣūr and produced Kitāb Sumāh al-Fuṣūṣ for his patron. Written in imitation of Kitāb al-Nawādir by Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, it is a compilation of classical texts in prose and in poetry. See Yāqūt, Dictionary of Learned Men of Yáqút, vol. IV, pp. 266-267.

2. See Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 35. Ibn al-A'rābī was a direct disciple of the shaykh of the order, al-Junayd; see Deverdun, Inscriptions..., p. 19, for the complete silsila from Ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī to the Prophet Muḥammad.

1. Abū Bakr al-Mayurqī (originally from Mallorca, as the name indicates) was a jurist of the Zahirite school. He studied in Mecca and in Alexandria for several years before coming to live as an ascetic in Granada.[1]

2. Ibn Barrajān, originally from North Africa, resided in Sevilla. In addition to skill as a traditionalist, he was a mystical theologian devoted to austerity. Ibn Barrajān was also involved with numerology and is said to have predicted the date of Jerusalem's capture by Saladin (1187).[2]

There is some doubt about the influence that Ibn al-ʿArīf exercised over the Spanish mystics as a whole. It is known, for example, that Ibn Qasī, al-Mayurqī and Ibn Barrajān formed separate schools in their respective regions. The relationship between Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barrajān seems to be especially unclear; a recent examination of correspondence between the two men

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1. See Takmila, No. 608, Muʿjam, No. 123, and al-Marrākušī, Al-Iʿlām bi-man Ḥall Marrākush, vol. III, pp. 3-5.

2. See Takmila, No. 1797; Muʿjam, No. 14; Ibn al-Muwaqqit, Al-Saʿādat..., p. 106; aš-Šaʿrānī, Ṭabaqāt, p. 15; Ibn Kallikan, Biographical Dictionary, tr. de Slane, vol. II, p. 634; and Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur, vol. I, p. 559.

concluded that Ibn Barrajān may indeed have been the master.[1] The humility shown in Ibn al-ʿArīf's letters, however, is probably merely stylistic. What seems apparent is the greater political ambition of Ibn Barrajān; aš-Šaʿrānī informs us that about 130 towns recognised him as imām.[2]

The number and the fanaticism of Ibn al-ʿArīf's disciples seem to have aroused suspicions at the Almoravid court. It is known with what frequency political revolutions in Islam first adopt the appearance of inoffensive religious movements; indeed, this process had propelled the Almoravids themselves to power. The reaction of the Almoravids was prompted by the initiative of Ibn al-Aswad, qāḍī of Almería, who envied the popular esteem enjoyed by Ibn al-ʿArīf. Ibn al-Aswad sent a written denunciation to the court at Marrākuš, and the sultan ʿAlī subsequently ordered the arrest of Ibn al-ʿArīf, Ibn Barrajān and al-Mayurqī. Al-Mayurqī managed to escape to the Orient, but the other two men were sent to Africa. Ibn al-ʿArīf, unlike his fellow prisoner, was respectfully received by the Almoravid ruler. Both mystics died in suspicious circumstances, shortly after their arrival during September, 1141.

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1. See Hespéris, xliii (1956), pp. 217-221, for the article "...La Correspondance d'Ibn al-ʿArîf avec Ibn Barrajân" by Paul Nwyia, S.J.

2. Ṭabaqāt, p. 15.

The only surviving work of Ibn al-'Arīf is Maḥāsin al-Majālis,[1] a study of the stations (manāzil) of the mystical way:

1. Ma'rifa[2] - ecstatic intuition, or gnosis
2. Irāda - will, or inclination
3. Zuhd - asceticism, or abstinence
4. Tawakkul[3] - confidence, dependence, trust
5. Ṣabr - patience
6. Ḥuzn - sadness
7. Kawf[4] - fear
8. Rajā' - hope
9. Šukr - gratitude
10. Maḥabba - love; and Šawq - desire, or longing

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1. There are four manuscripts of the work: El Escorial No. 732; Berlin Library No. 872; Alexandria Municipal Library Nos. 37 and 173. Asín's edition of the Berlin manuscript has been followed. Cf. Brockelmann, G.A.L., vol. I, p. 559, and supplement I, p. 776.

2. This knowledge of God is generally considered to be the last stage of mystical progression. Paradoxically, Ibn al-'Arīf has presented ma'rifa as the first station. One should also note the esoteric connotations of the author's name, which is derived from the same root as ma'rifa.

3. Some mystics took tawakkul as a command to implicitly trust God, even to the extent of refusing to seek food. They described their attitude as that of a corpse in the hands of the washer who prepares it for burial.

4. Stations and, more particularly, states (aḥwāl) are often classified in pairs of opposites; such is the case with kawf and rajā'. This particular association may be derived from ἐλπίς, whose usage in classical Greek "...makes hope more neutral, i.e., an expectation for the future that may be either good or bad, dependent upon how a man acts at the present time." (From New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. VII, "Hope (In the Bible)", pp. 141-142, by J.E. Fallon.) See also "Hope", by Rabbi Adolf Guttmacher, in The Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. VI, pp. 459-460 (London, 1904).

To these ten steps, Ibn al-ʿArīf adds penitence (tawba) and familiarity with God (uns). These mystical progressions, which are common to most Sufis, were first defined by al-Muḥāsibī (d. 857). While al-Muḥāsibī does not mention irāda, he does add poverty (faqr), satisfaction (riḍā'), and assertion of the unity of God (tawhīd).[1]

The originality of the Maḥāsin lies in its esoteric orientation. The basic idea of the work seems to stem from Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Misrī, who connected the mystical concepts of knowledge (maʿrifa) and love (maḥabba).[2] Ibn al-ʿArīf begins with knowledge and ends with love, but he shows that love is both beginning and end for the Sufi:

فصل واما المحبة فهى اول اودية الفناء و العقبة
التى يتحدر منها على منازل المحو و هو اخر منزل
تلتقى فيه مقدمة العامّة بساقة الخاصة .....[3]

> Love for God is the beginning of the valleys of extinction and the hill from which one descends through the stages of self-annihilation. And love is also the last of these stages, where the vanguard of the mass of believers meets the rearguard of the elect.

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1. See Smith, Readings from the Mystics of Islām, pp. 1-7; al-Muḥāsibī's biography is given by as-Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt, pp. 49-53.
2. Nicholson, The Idea of Personality in Ṣufism, p. 9.
3. Maḥāsin, p. 90. See Burckhardt, An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, 1976 ed., pp. 33-34, for a discussion of this passage in relation to Ibn al-ʿArabī's concept of maḥabba.

It is quite significant that Ibn al-ʿArīf uses the term manāzil, rather than maqāmāt, to describe the mystical stages. Through an examination of their verbal roots, manāzil can be interpreted as "stations of a descent" while maqāmāt can mean "stations of an ascent". According to Ibn al-ʿArīf, love causes one to descend from his proud nafs through stages of self-renunciation and "valleys of extinction" that lead to a perfect knowledge of God. For the gnostic so united with God, the mystical stages then become irrelevant; only love remains as a proper state for those select ones in ecstatic union with God. Love is the beginning and the end. Asín sees this renunciation of all that is not God as singularly important in the history of Islamic spirituality.[1] The primacy of maḥabba, as taught by Ibn al-ʿArīf, greatly affected his disciple Ibn Qasī and was to exert an influence on Ibn al-ʿArabī of Murcia, Ibn ʿAbbād of Ronda, and San Juan de la Cruz. The significant defect of Ibn al-ʿArīf's system has been described as a tendency to quietism (riḍā').[2] His militant disciple Ibn Qasī, however, did not succumb to any such defect.

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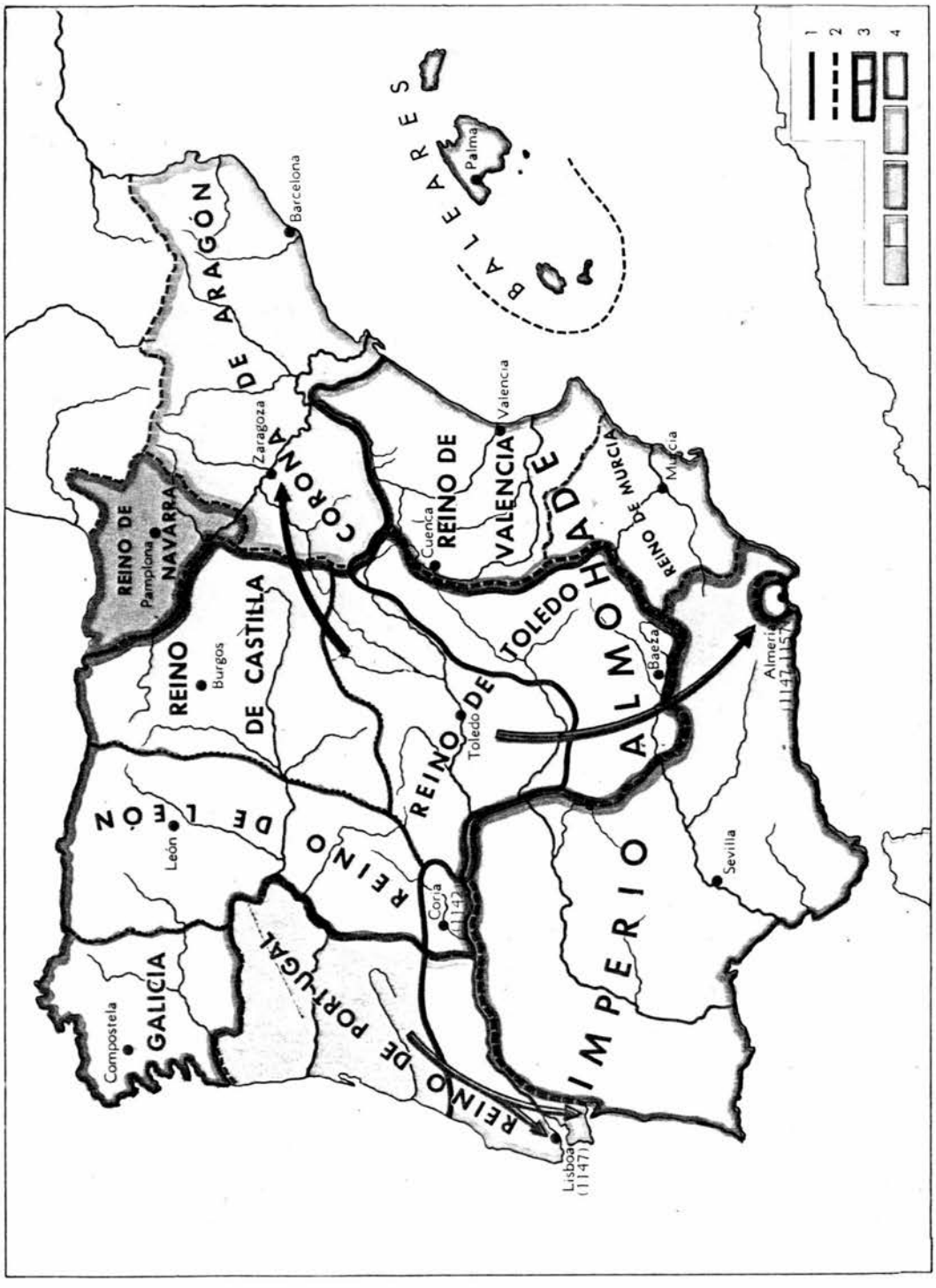
1. Ibn al-ʿArīf, Maḥāsin, p. 16.

2. See ibid., pp. 16-17, and p. 93 (which includes a portion of Q. 3:191 - الذين يذكرون الله قياما و قعوداً). The concept of riḍā' is closely related to that of tawakkul, absolute trust in God.

XXXVI. LA EPOCA DE ALFONSO VII



Signos: 1. Frontera entre la Cristiandad y el Islam en 1120. — 2. Frontera alcanzada por Alfonso VII. — 3. Territorios heredados y conquistas de Alfonso VII. — 4. Reinos en situación de dependencia feudal o vasallaje respecto a Alfonso VII.

J. Vicens Vives, Atlas de Historia de España, Barcelona, 1969 (6th ed.)

SECTION IV : IBN QASĪ

Abū al-Qāsim Aḥmad Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn Qasī was probably a descendant of the Banū Qasī family, which participated prominently in the muwallad rebellions of 852-912.[1] Ibn Qasī was born in Silves at the beginning of the twelfth century and apparently worked as a tax collector. While still a young man, he seems to have undergone a spiritual change and to have abandoned a life of pleasure for one of austerity. Giving away all his possessions, Ibn Qasī began a series of long pilgrimages throughout al-Andalus. It was during these travels that he began to attract a devoted group of followers who, according to Ibn al-Kaṭīb, surrounded him like "a ring of evil".[2] Both Ibn al-Kaṭīb and al-Marrākušī give a highly unfavourable picture of Ibn Qasī; he is seen as a clever religious heretic surrounded by a band of fanatical cut-throats. It is said that his disciples followed Bāṭinī doctrines and the

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1. Ibn Qasī's principal biographers are: al-Marrākušī, Al-I'lām bi-man..., vol. I, pp. 224-226; Dozy, Notices sur Quelques Manuscrits Arabes, pp. 199-202; al-Kaṭīb, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, pp. 285-290. For the Banū Qasī, see Huici Miranda's article in E.I., 2nd ed., vol. III, pp. 815-816. References to the Banū Qasī are also found in Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab, pp. 499 and 502; Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 89; González, Historia de la Literatura Arábigo-Española, p. 11. Silves is described by al-Idrīsī in Description...de l'Espagne, p. 217, and Geografia de España, pp. 168-169.

2. Al-Kaṭīb, ...l'Espagne Musulmane, p. 286, uses the term: دائرة السوء

philosophic concepts of the Ikwān aṣ-Ṣafā'. Ibn Qasī proclaimed himself a saint and claimed the following miraculous attributes:[1]

1. Completion of the pilgrimage to Mecca in one night.

2. The power to speak in silence and make his desires known.

3. A supernatural treasury that first produced Almoravid coins and later Ibn Qasī's own coins.

Al-Marrākušī is especially harsh on Ibn Qasī, describing him as one of those petty rulers who attracted the ignorant masses through cunning and sleight-of-hand.[2]

Despite these unsavoury comments, Ibn Qasī seems genuinely to have been part of the mystical heritage of Islamic Spain. Most of the criticism directed against him came from the camp that defeated him. It has frequently been pointed out that "history" is written by those who are victorious.[3] With this in mind, one can begin a more realistic reconstruction of Ibn Qasī and his times. It is

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1. Al-Kaṭīb, ibid., calls these "his false miracles" (مخاريقه).

2. See al-Marrākušī, Histoire des Almohades, p. 182, and the summation in Sánchez-Albornoz, La España Musulmana, vol. II, pp. 219-220.

3. See the comments in Conde, Historia de la Dominación de los Árabes en España, vol. I, p. iii.

apparent that he made his way to Almería and became one of the disciples of Ibn al-'Arīf.[1] As such, he formed part of the mystical chain whose links include Ibn al-A'rābī and al-Junayd. Ibn Qasī may also have learned something of Masarrism at Almería and surely became well-acquainted with the teachings of al-Ḡazālī.

Ibn Qasī was a complex, extraordinary man, "...an ambiguous figure who wished to be both politician and Ṣūfī, ..."[2] He was, above all, an enlightened theologian who followed the example of other militant Sufis: he distributed all his goods and undertook pilgrimages as an itinerant mendicant; through his spiritual merits, he attracted disciples (murīdūn) and was able to found a rābiṭa on the coast near Silves.[3] Ibn Qasī became a Sufi shaykh and seems to have propagated mystical teachings and to have explained the works of al-Ḡazālī throughout the Algarbe region.

Ibn Qasī's religious activities coincided with a period of great political unrest, and his rābiṭa soon became a centre of conspiracy against the Almoravids.

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1. See Ibn al-Ḵaṭīb, ...l'Espagne Musulmane, p. 286.
2. From the article "Ibn Ḳasī" by A. Faure in E.I., 2nd ed., vol. III, pp. 816-817.
3. There has been confusion of various sorts involving this rābiṭa. Ibn Ḵaldūn, for example, mistakenly calls Ibn Qasī's disciples Murābiṭūn instead of Murīdūn (see The Muqaddimah, vol. I, p. 323). The precise location of the rābiṭa is not known, but probable sites are discussed by Cagigas, Los Mudejares, p. 308, note 44.

Indeed, Codera has called Ibn Qasī the soul of revolution in the Algarbe.[1] The situation was ripe for rebellion. The Almoravids had alienated many Andalusians through their religious and intellectual intolerance. The orthodox Mālikites had been supported, and their authority led to such outrages as the burning of al-Ḡazālī's Iḥyā', the expulsion of Mozarabs, and the persecution of Jews. The troubles that began to afflict the Almoravids had military weakness as their root-cause. The African conquerors had hoped to govern Spain through a system of military garrisons. But their failure to reconquer Toledo or to retain the Ebro valley increased Christian pressures on al-Andalus and made the Almoravid detachments increasingly vulnerable. In such an atmosphere of military instability, the results were poor administration coupled with detrimental effects on commerce and industry. The rise of the Almohads as implacable enemies also forced the Almoravids to frequently turn their attention away from al-Andalus to Africa.[2]

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1. ...Almorávides..., p. 33.

2. See González, ...Literatura Arábigo-Española, p. 25; Valdeavellano, Historia de España, pp. 443-444; and Bosch-Vilá, Los Almorávides, pp. 285-303, for their explanations of the Almoravid collapse. On the other hand, Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, pp. 92-118, discusses some of the achievements of the Almoravids. Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 215-221, deals with their excellent monetary system.

The Almoravid hold on the Algarbe, besides being obliquely threatened by Almohad successes in the Maġrib, was directly eroded by the incursions of the Portuguese ruler, Alfonso Henriquez. In 1139, Alfonso won the battle of Ourique, paving the way for his vassalage to the Holy See in 1143. This alliance reflects the abiding concern of the Italian city-states in reducing Muslim power in the Mediterranean. In October, 1143, the ranks of the Spanish Reconquista closed a little further; Alfonso VII of León and Castilla seems to have recognised his cousin Alfonso Henriquez as King of Portugal. These developments would lead, by 1147, to Portugal's capture of Santarén, Lisboa, Cintra and Palmela.[1]

It has been claimed that Ibn Qasī was one of those muladies who turned to Alfonso of Portugal because of political and religious motivations.[2] There is some validity in this assertion by the Christian commentators.

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1. See Simonet, Historia de los Mozárabes de España, pp. 766-767, and Valdeavellano, Historia de España, pp. 443-449. Santarén fell on 15 March 1147. In June, Alfonso obtained the aid of a powerful Crusader fleet (French, German, English and Flemish) during his successful assault on Lisboa.

2. See España Sagrada, vol. XXIII, pp. 633-766. Ibn Qasī, however, had ample reason to fear Christian incursions. Huici, Las Crónicas Latinas de la Reconquista, vol. I, p. 346, gives the following extract from Anales Toledanos: "Entró D. Rodrigo Fernandez en tierra de moros en Silve, é aduxo mas de X mil cativos; era MCLXXX. - A. 1142."

As a member of an old muwallad family, Ibn Qasī could be expected to have some contacts in the Christian camp. Alfonso, of course, welcomed any disruption of Almoravid control along his frontier in the Algarbe. It should be remembered, however, that Ibn Qasī only formally allied himself with the Portuguese king in 1151 as a final, desperate measure. In any case, the religious rābiṭa at Silves soon took on the military character of a ribāṭ, and the mystical disciples of Ibn Qasī developed into a religious militia.[1] Because it was functioning on the edge of both Portuguese and Almoravid control, the ribāṭ at Silves enjoyed a relative degree of independence. In such a situation, religious enthusiasm was soon to develop into military endeavour. The deaths of both Ibn al-ʿArīf and Ibn Barrajān at Marrākuš in 1141 obviously exacerbated the explosive passions at the ribāṭ of Silves.

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1. The uprising of the murīdūn was evidently covered in the lost Ṭawra al-Murīdīn, by Ibn Ṣāḥib aṣ-Ṣalāt. This was the first of a three-volume history of the Almohads. Only the second volume is extant (Bodleian MS 433) which covers 1159 to 1184 and deals primarily with Ibn Mardanīsh. Ṭawra al-Murīdīn is mentioned in González, ...Literatura Arábigo-Española, p. 159; al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, pp. 518-519, note 11; and Cagigas, Los Mudejares, p. 308, note 47. García Gómez discusses the probable importance of Ibn Ṣāḥib to Andalusian historiography; see "A propósito de Ibn Ḥayyān" in Al-Andalus, XI (1946), pp. 395-423. The qāḍī of Sevilla during this time, Abū Bakr Ibn al-ʿArabī, is reported to have written Book of the Lamp of the Murīdūn; see Codera, ...Almorávides..., p. 364, and al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. I, pp. 477-489.

The first military action took place in April, 1144, when the stronghold of Monteagudo was attacked and apparently captured by a follower of Ibn Qasī. The rebellion began in earnest during August, 1144, when the important town of Mértola was besieged by a certain Ibn al-Qābila with seventy murīdūn. This brave and distinguished commander succeeded by a stratagem in capturing the fortress on 14 August 1144.[1] This success served as a catalyst to general insurrection in the Algarbe region. Before the end of August, Sīdrāy Ibn Wazīr took Évora and Beja, while Ibn al-Mundir gained possession of Silves.[2] By the beginning of September, 1144, Ibn Qasī had occupied Mértola and had assumed the title al-Mahdī bi-Amr Allāh; this was the same designation that had been used by Ibn Tūmart, founder of the Almohad movement. Before entering Mértola Ibn Qasī

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1. See Dozy, Notices..., p. 199 and pp. 287-288; also Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 37-38.

2. For biographies, see Dozy, ibid., pp. 202-207 (Ibn al-Mundir) and pp. 239-241 (Ibn Wazīr). Codera, ibid., pp. 292-293, gives the following details: Ibn Wazīr first rebelled in Évora and then apparently assisted Ibn al-Mundir, who took the castle of Marjiq (district of Silves) and killed its Almoravid defenders. The Almoravid garrison of Beja then received the amān and fled to Sevilla, allowing Ibn al-Mundir to enter the city at the head of Ibn Wazīr's troops. It is also known that Ibn al-Mundir assumed the laqab of al-ʿAzīz bi-llāh.

had apparently written to the surrounding towns, urging their adhesion to the cause of insurrection. Both Ibn Wazīr and Ibn al-Mundir hastened to Mértola and pledged their allegiance to Ibn Qasī.

There are several possible explanations for Ibn Qasī's assumption of the grandiose title al-Mahdī. During the previous Taifa period, petty rulers had set precedents by assuming pompous titles and by issuing their own coinage. The period of insurrection initiated by Ibn Qasī would show some of the same characteristics as the Taifa years.[1] Asín has even seen Ibn Qasī's actions as a resurrection of Ismā'īl al-Ru'aynī's pretensions to the imamate.[2] There may be some truth in this statement, owing to Ibn Qasī's probable exposure to the radical ideas from Pechina. One should also note the possible influence from Ibn Barrajān, who had been recognised as imām by 130 villages. The fact that Ibn Tūmart and Ibn Qasī used exactly the same title may be attributed to the strong influence of al-Ġazālī on both men.[3] It is known that

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1. Al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, p. 310, tells us that Ibn Ṣāḥib aṣ-Ṣalāt and other writers described this time as al-fitna at-tāniya. Codera, ...Almorávides..., p. 31, says: "...este período podría llamarse 'Segundo período de reyes de Taifas', ..."

2. Abenmasarra..., pp. 109-110.

3. See: Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, pp. 104-105; Asín, Obras Escogidas, vol. II, pp. 3-12; Ibn Kallikan, Biographical Dictionary, tr. de Slane, vol. III, pp. 205-217.

Ibn Qasī sent an envoy to the Almohads before his attack on Mértola.[1] Their rejection of his overture probably eased any reservations that he may have held about assuming Ibn Tūmart's title.

The month of September, 1144, was highly eventful for the Algarbe. Following the pact at Mértola, Ibn al-Mundir captured Huelva and received Niebla from Yūsuf al-Biṭrūjī, the Almoravid governor who had passed over to the rebel side. Ibn al-Mundir's burning ambition even pushed him into approaching Sevilla. At this point, however, the Almoravid governor-general, Yaḥyā Ibn Gāniya,[2] hurried to Sevilla and heavily defeated Ibn al-Mundir, who was obliged to retire first to Niebla and then to Silves. Ibn Gāniya subsequently laid siege for three months to Niebla, which had been left in the hands of al-Biṭrūjī. During the same month of September, Alfonso VII was gathering his forces in Toledo for an invasion of al-Andalus.

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1. See al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, p. xlix.

2. Ibn Gāniya, one of the best Almoravid commanders, is known to have killed Alfonso I of Aragon ("El Batallador") in 1134. In 1143 he was appointed governor-general of al-Andalus. At the same time, his brother, Muḥammad Ibn Gāniya, was governor of the Balearic Islands. See al-Maqqarī, ibid., p. 309; and the article "Banū Ghāniya", by A. Bel, in E.I., 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 401.

In January, 1145, a second major focus of rebellion broke out in Almoravid Spain when the qāḍī Ibn Ḥamdīn[1] revolted at Córdoba. This uprising had been facilitated by the absence of Ibn Ġāniya at the siege of Niebla. It was soon recognised, however, that Ibn Ḥamdīn would need an ally in order to retain control of Córdoba. Ibn Qasī sent both Ibn al-Mundir and Ibn Wazīr as envoys to explore the possibilities of an alliance. Before their arrival, however, Sayf ad-Dawla Ibn Hūd (Zafadola) quickly presented himself in the city and obtained the submission of Ibn Ḥamdīn.[2] By the beginning of March the power of Ibn Ḥamdīn had grown to the extent that he was able to eject Zafadola and declare himself Amīr al-Muslimīn wa Nāṣir ad-Dīn. Additionally, he took the laqab of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh. Zafadola, after leaving Córdoba, went on to take Jaén; later, Granada was surrendered to him by the qāḍī Ibn Aḍḥā.

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1. Ibn Ḥamdīn was the second son of the Córdoban theologian who had burned the works of al-Ġazālī in 1109. He served as qāḍī of Córdoba from about 1135 until 1138, when the office passed to the grandfather of the philosopher Ibn Rušd. Ibn Ḥamdīn had been re-elected qāḍī shortly before he led the uprising of 1145.

2. See Dozy, Notices..., p. 203, for an account of this episode. The astute Sayf ad-Dawla, whose name was corrupted by the Christians to Zafadola, was one of the earliest rebels against Almoravid authority. As an ally of Alfonso VII, he took Rueda in 1129 and handed its castle over to the Emperor in 1131. As early as 1133, some Andalusians had approached Zafadola concerning insurrection against the Almoravids.

The success of Ibn Ḥamdīn was the signal for general insurrection in Almoravid Spain. Ibn al-Ḥājj revolted in Murcia and acknowledged Ibn Ḥamdīn in the khuṭba during Ramaḍān (March). In the same month, the qāḍī Ibn Ḥassūn declared Málaga independent.[1] On March 28th, the qāḍī Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz assumed control of Valencia; ten days later, he attacked Ibn Ġāniya who had retreated to Játiva with his family. Ominously for the Almoravids, their ruler, Tāshufīn Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Yūsuf, died during the period of these disorders.[2]

A state of anarchy, powered by blind ambitions and regional hatreds, soon developed in Andalusia.[3] The confusion and violence that erupted in the spring of 1145 are especially illustrated by the course of insurrection in Murcia:

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1. Ibn Ḥassūn took the title Amīr but recognised the authority of Ibn Ḥamdīn. His rule lasted from 1145 until 1153, and Málaga became one of the most stable Taifas of the time. Ibn Ḥamdīn even sought out Málaga as a refuge and died there on 1 November 1151. Málaga passed to the Almohads in 1153 after the suicide of Ibn Ḥassūn.

2. See al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, pp. 308-309; Ibn Ḵaldūn (in al-Maqqarī, ibid., p. xlix); and Ćodera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 285-291, for conflicting accounts of his death. Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 107, gives a good summary of the circumstances leading to Tāshufīn's death at Oran.

3. See Huici, Historia Musulmana de Valencia y su Region, pp. 101-102.

1. Ibn al-Ḥājj revolted in March, 1145.

2. ʻAbd Allāh at-Tagrī (evidently an agent for Zafadola) overthrew Ibn al-Ḥājj after about a month.

3. The qāḍī Ibn Abī Jāʻfar, about a week later, ousted at-Tagrī.

4. At-Tagrī assumed power for a few days during the absence of Ibn Abī Jāʻfar at the siege of Játiva, held by Ibn Ġāniya.

5. Ibn Abī Jāʻfar hurried back from Játiva and took control for a second time.

6. Ibn Tāhir al-Qaysī gained power.

7. ʻAbd Allāh Ibn ʻIyād, who proclaimed Zafadola, united Murcia and Valencia.

All of the above changes at Murcia took place during the year 1145.[1]

The respective spheres of influence of the Andalusian rebels become clear during the year 1145. Ġarb al-Andalus, instigated into rebellion by Ibn Qasī, came loosely under his control. Al-Andalus al-Awsaṭ was the scene of a confused struggle between the partisans of Ibn Ḥamdīn and those of Zafadola, with Ibn Ḥamdīn eventually emerging as

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1. See Gaspar, Historia de Murcia Musulmana, pp. 161-175.

the strong-man.[1] Sharq al-Andalus came under the nominal control of Zafadola; after his death in 1146, the area was gradually unified under Ibn Mardanīsh (1124-1172).[2]

About July, 1145, the Almoravid admiral for al-Andalus, ʿAlī Ibn ʿĪsā Ibn Maymūn, rebelled at Cádiz. He was from a famous family of mariners that had originated in Denia.[3] The episode is all the more interesting because Ibn Maymūn destroyed the ancient Temple of Hercules in the vain hope of revealing its treasury.[4] Ibn Maymūn also set an important precedent for the anti-Almoravid rebels when he went to Fās and personally swore allegiance to the Almohad ruler ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.[5]

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1. Ibn Ḥamdīn was recognised by Ibn Wazīr of Beja, Ibn Ġarrūn of Jerez, Ibn Aḍḥā of Granada, Ibn Abī Jāʿfar of Murcia, and various other petty rulers.

2. Ibn Mardanīsh, known to the Christians as Aben Lob or El Rey Lobo, ruled a vast area of the Levante from about 1147 until his death in 1172. His domain included Carmona, Écija, Jaén, Murcia, Valencia, Guadix and Beja. He became something of a legendary figure, a Muslim counterpart to El Cid. In fact, Ibn Mardanīsh often seemed more Christian than Muslim; he had various Christian allies and adopted many of their customs. See Valdeavellano, Historia de España, p. 449, and Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 108.

3. See Huici, Historia...Valencia, p. 116, note 1, for more information on the Banū Maymūn.

4. See the account, derived from al-Ḥimyarī, in Sánchez-Albornoz, La España Musulmana, vol. II, pp. 212-216. The incident is also mentioned by Valdeavellano, Historia de España, p. 446, and Ibn Abī Zarʿ, Rawd al-Qirtas, vol. II, p. 509.

5. See al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties...., vol. II, p. xlix, note 1.

It was apparently during the summer of 1145 that Ibn Wazīr rebelled against the authority of Ibn Qasī. Taking possession of Badajoz and Silves, he acknowledged Ibn Ḥamdīn of Córdoba as his chief.[1] Ibn al-Mundir, sent by Ibn Qasī against Ibn Wazīr, was taken prisoner and blinded. Seeing no other alternative, Ibn Qasī crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and appealed directly to 'Abd al-Mu'min for assistance.[2] After hearing Ibn Qasī's proposal (and his renunciation of the title al-Mahdī), the Almohad ruler decided to intervene in Spain for two main reasons:

1. The Maġrib had now come almost completely under Almohad control.

2. The Almoravids, under the initiative of Ibn Ġāniya, were showing signs of a revival in al-Andalus.[3]

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1. See Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 43-45, and the monetary evidence presented in Vives, Monedas de las Dinastías Arábigo-Españolas, Nos. 1909, 1910, 1913.

2. See Ibn Kaldūn, Histoire des Berbères, pp. 184-185, and Dozy, Notices..., p. 200.

3. By the beginning of 1146, the Almoravids (never overthrown in Sevilla) had regained the important cities of Granada and Córdoba. The subsequent death of Zafadola also relieved pressure on the Almoravids. Previously, he had closely besieged the Almoravids holding out in the alcazaba of Granada. Ibn Abī Jā'far of Murcia tried to reinforce Zafadola in this siege but was killed at the battle of Almosala. Zafadola then retired to Jaén, the rebel qāḍī Ibn Aḍḥā fled to Almuñecar, and Granada remained in the hands of the Almoravid Ibn Warqā.

The year ended with the return of Ibn Gāniya to the vicinity of Córdoba. Ibn Ḥamdīn led an army out to meet him but was defeated at Écija and pursued as far as Andújar. At the end of January, 1146, the victorious Almoravid general once again entered Córdoba. About the same time, Ibn Wazīr seized Ibn Qasī's stronghold of Mértola.[1] On February 5th, the notorious rebel Zafadola was killed at the battle of Alloch (modern Chinchilla);[2] he was replaced as king of Valencia by Ibn 'Iyād.

The Almohad army, under the qā'id Barrāz Ibn Muḥammad al-Massūfī (an Almoravid deserter), began to land in Spain during May, 1146. Ibn Ġarrūn, ruler of Jerez, Arcos and Ronda, was the first to throw off submission to Ibn Ḥamdīn and pledge allegiance to the invaders. The Córdoban qāḍī, besieged at Andújar, had meanwhile sought the aid of Alfonso VII who forced Ibn Gāniya to retreat back into Córdoba. On 24 May 1146, the combined forces of Alfonso and Ibn Ḥamdīn entered the city, obliging Ibn Gāniya to seek refuge in the alcázar. When news of the Almohad landing reached Alfonso, he realised that his position was untenable; he elected to abandon Córdoba to Ibn Gāniya in return for his tributary vassalage.[3]

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1. See Dozy, Notices..., p. 239.
2. This battle was precipitated by Alfonso's seizure of the castle of Calatrava and by his subsequent raids into the Levante. Along with Zafadola, the father of Ibn Mardanīsh was also killed at Alloch. See Valdeavellano, Historia de España, pp. 447-448.
3. Valdeavellano, ibid., p. 448.

The advance of the Almohad army proved to be irresistible. After a landing at Tarifa, Algeciras and its surrounding area was quickly secured. Jerez, Arcos and Ronda were delivered without a fight, leaving Sevilla isolated and vulnerable. The Almohad force then began to swing westwards into the Algarbe. Niebla was captured from the tenacious al-Biṭrūjī. Silves was reduced by siege and given over to the puppet governorship by Ibn Qasī. Beja, Badajoz and Mértola were then quick to submit. Late in 1146, the Almohad army encamped for the winter at Mértola. With the Algarbe secured as far as Christian power permitted, attention was turned to Sevilla. Early in 1147, the reinforced army began to advance from the south and west, taking Tejada and Aznalcázar; by January 18th Sevilla had fallen into Almohad hands. ʿAbd al-Mu'min sent two of Ibn Tūmart's brothers, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿĪsā, to govern the city, but they quickly became infamous for their excessive cruelty towards the inhabitants. These brothers even plotted the death of al-Biṭrūjī, who had been granted the amān to reside at Sevilla. Al-Biṭrūjī, however, was able to flee, sought aid from the remaining Almoravids and declared himself in revolt against the Almohads.

The escape of al-Biṭrūjī was followed by a general insurrection against the Almohads.[1] Once again, the

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1. See al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, p. li, for Ibn Ḵaldūn's account of this uprising. See also Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 47-50.

Andalusian chieftains showed their resilience and their desire for independence. Almost simultaneously, Ibn Qasī rebelled at Silves, and Ibn Maymūn rose up at Cádiz. The old warrior Ibn Ġāniya captured Algeciras for the Almoravids during the confusion, and he successfully incited rebellion at Ceuta. Ibn al-Ḥajjām, who lost Algeciras to Ibn Ġāniya, then attached himself to the anti-Almohad insurrection at Badajoz. The only ruler who remained loyal to the Almohads was Ibn Ġarrūn of Jerez.

The Almohad capture of Marrākuš in March of 1147 sealed the fate of both the Almoravids and the Andalusian insurrectionists. Following the execution of Isḥāq Ibn ʿAlī, the last Almoravid amīr, the Almohads were able to turn their full attention to Spain. Coincident with the triumph in Africa, the cruel brothers of Ibn Tūmart fled Sevilla and joined forces with Ibn Ġarrūn at the mountain fortress of Bobastro. They then fell upon Algeciras and massacred its Almoravid garrison before returning to the Almohad court.[1] Finally, an Almohad army was dispatched under the command of Yūsuf Ibn Sulaymān, who relieved Barrāz as governor of Sevilla.[2] Niebla was quickly

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1. These infamous brothers were executed in 1154, after revolting against ʿAbd al-Mu'min's establishment of a hereditary dynasty to rule the Almohads (see Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, pp. 109-110).

2. Barrāz was allowed, however, to retain the office of tax-collector at Sevilla.

recovered from al-Biṭrūjī, and Silves was retaken from Ibn Qasī. Despite the winter conditions, Ibn Sulaymān went on to attack Ibn Maymūn at Santa Maria del Algarbe and forced his obedience. Seeing these developments, the rebel Ibn al-Ḥajjām at Badajoz sent envoys of peace and was pardoned. Ibn Sulaymān then returned to spend the winter of 1147-1148 in Sevilla.

The Christians took full advantage of the internal problems afflicting their Muslim opponents. During 1147, Alfonso I of Portugal managed to conquer several towns, including Lisboa. Meanwhile, Alfonso VII of Spain made a deep thrust into Islamic territory and captured Almería on October 17th, 1147.[1] Almería had expelled the Almoravids in 1145 but had retained the services of Muḥammad Ibn Maymūn, conqueror of the Balearic Islands and an uncle to Ibn Maymūn of Cádiz. This famous admiral increased the hazards to Christian shipping in the Mediterranean. Not surprisingly, Cataluña, Aragón, Genova and Pisa supported Alfonso's land assault with a large naval force. Unable to oppose such a force, Ibn Maymūn retired to Mallorca,

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1. For an account of Almería from 1145 to 1147, see Huici, Historia...Valencia, pp. 116-126. See also al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties.., vol. II, p. 311; Valdeavellano, Historia de España, pp. 449-451; and Codera, ..Almorávides.., pp. 135-138, for details of the Christian conquest. Information from Christian chronicles is found in Huici, ...Crónicas Latinas..., vol. I, p. 70 and pp. 346-347.

where Muḥammad Ibn Ḡāniya (brother of the Almoravid general) still held power.[1] These developments allowed Ramón Berenguer IV, Count of Barcelona and regent of Aragón, to capture Tortosa, Miquinenza, Lérida and Fraga during 1148-1149. The subsequent Treaty of Tudején (27 January 1151), signed by Alfonso VII and his brother-in-law Count Berenguer, gave further unity and impetus to the Christian Reconquista.[2]

Alfonso, after the capture of Almería, proceeded early in 1148 to lay siege to Córdoba, held by his rebellious vassal Ibn Ḡāniya.[3] The old Almoravid commander turned to the Almohad general Barrāz for assistance. An agreement was reached whereby the Almohads received Córdoba and Carmona while Ibn Ḡāniya became governor of Jaén.[4] Following this settlement, Ibn Ḡarrūn joined forces with al-Biṭrūjī; this army was further strengthened by Almohad troops under Yaḥyā Ibn Yaḡmūr, and the combined army entered Córdoba without opposition.[5]

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1. Ibn Ḡāniya was Almoravid governor of the Baleares from 1126 until he declared his independence in 1146; he then ruled the islands until 1155. The Banū Ḡāniya retained a fitful hold on the Balearic Islands until the Almohad conquest of 1203.
2. See Valdeavellano, Historia de España, pp. 452-453.
3. Ibn Ḡāniya still held Córdoba in the name of the Almoravids, as the numismatic evidence confirms; see Codera, ...Almorávides..., p. 392.
4. See Ibn Ḵaldūn's account of this affair in al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, p. lii.
5. Alfonso later besieged Almohad Córdoba, without success, in 1150. See al-Maqqarī, ibid., p. 313.

It was during 1147-1148 that Ibn Mardanīsh consolidated his hold over most of south-eastern Spain. When Ibn ʿIyād died of wounds, he assumed control of Valencia. Murcia, ruled semi-independently by Ibn ʿUbayd after the death of Ibn ʿIyād, finally recognised the authority of Ibn Mardanīsh in October, 1147. With his position consolidated, El Rey Lobo then made treaties with Pisa (January, 1149) and with Genova (June, 1149). These Italian city-states were obviously interested in securing their beach-head at Almería.[1] In 1151, Ibn Mardanīsh took Guadix, whose brilliant court of poets and scholars included the famous Ibn Ṭufayl.

Final Almohad subjection of the Algarbe rebels came in the year 1150. Apparently, Ibn Ḡarrūn convinced the " Taifas del Algarbe " that further resistance was hopeless.[2] Escorted by Ibn Yaḡmūr, these petty rulers went to Salé and swore a formal oath of allegiance to ʿAbd al-Mu'min. The Almohad ruler then took the precaution of keeping most of the former rebels at his court in Marrākuš, far from the temptations that al-Andalus frequently presented.[3] Of all the principal rebels,

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1. It is also known that Pisa signed a treaty of peace in 1150 with Ibn Ḡāniya of Mallorca.
2. See Valdeavellano, Historia de España, p. 452.
3. See al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, p. liii.

only Ibn Qasī refused to renounce his pretensions of independence. In desperation, he seems to have turned to the Christians of Coimbra for support against the Almohads. This plan provoked Muslim distrust to such an extent that a conspiracy developed under the leadership of Ibn al-Mundir. As a consequence, Ibn Qasī was assassinated in Silves by his former supporters during August, 1151. His head was then displayed on a lance which had been a gift from his Portuguese allies.[1] The ambitious Ibn al-Mundir, despite his blindness, then ruled Silves for a short time until the suspicious Almohads called him to Sevilla.

Al-Andalus, excepting the lands of Ibn Mardanīsh, was completely subjugated to the Almohads by about the year 1157. The most salient points of that conquest follow:

1153: Málaga taken after the suicide of Ibn Ḥassūn.

1153: Naval forces made a devastating raid on Almería.[2]

1155: Submission of Granada by the Almoravid qā'id Ibn Warqā.

1157: Almería captured; Alfonso VII died while retreating.[3]

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1. See Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 50-52, for an account of Ibn Qasī's end.

2. See Ibn Abī Zar', Rawd al-Qirtas, vol. II, p. 509, for details, despite faulty chronology.

3. See Ibn Abī Zar', ibid., pp. 386-387 and 509-511; al-Maqqarī, ...Mohammedan Dynasties..., vol. II, pp. 313-314; Codera, ...Almorávides..., pp. 314-316; Huici, ...Crónicas Latinas..., vol. I, p. 348 (from Anales Toledanos).

P A R T T W O

AN ANALYSIS OF IBN QASĪ'S KAL‘ AN-NA‘LAYN

كِتـابُ خَلْعُ ٱلنَّعلَيْنِ وَ إقتبـاسُ
ٱلأَنـوَارِ من مَوْضع ٱلقدميـن

The book of removing the two shoes
and acquiring illumination from
the position of the two feet.

* * * * * * * *

كتاب خلع النعلين
واقتباس الأنوار من موضع القدمين

تصنيف الشيخ الامام ابى القاسم احمد
ابن قسى المغربى رحمة الله عليه

وعلى كافة المسلمين
وشمعة لك محى الاثر العربى

ملك الفقير حسن بن لعمد لله

١١٧٤

ملك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى
طوال الكاتبة [illegible]

CONTENTS

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The only extant copy of Ibn Qasī's Kitāb Kal' an-Na'layn wa Iqtibās al-Anwār min Mawḍi' al-Qadamayn is contained in the Istanbul MS., Süleymaniye, Şehid Ali Pasa No. 1174,[1] which was used in microfilm. It appears that the folios have been numbered after the manuscript was written. Ibn Qasī's work appears on folios 2a - 88b, followed by Ibn al-'Arabī's commentary on folios 89a - 175a. According to the colophon on 175b, the work was copied by a certain 'Umar Yūnus الاسناى [2] and completed on 15 Jum. I, 741 A.H. (6 November, 1340 A.D.); the hand is a small, cursive Naskī of moderate calligraphic standard.

TITLE, f. 2a

The title of the work derives from the story of Moses and the burning bush,[3] contained in Qur'ān 20:12: "Moses, I am your Lord. Take off your sandals, for you are now in the sacred valley of Towah." This passage, in turn, harks back to Exodus 3:5: "God said, 'Come no nearer; take off your sandals; the place where you are standing is holy ground.'" The title is to be understood in a mystical sense, Ibn Qasī apparently likening

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1. See Brockelmann, G.A.L., supplement I, p. 776, and Ibn Kaldūn, The Muqaddimah, vol. I, pp. 322-323.

2. The correct transcription is uncertain.

3. God appeared in this form, because Moses was looking for fire; cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 115.

the early life of Moses to the period of Sufi apprenticeship. Moses removed his slippers when he received his call directly from Yahweh in the form of the burning bush. The removal of shoes is, therefore, symbolic of the culminating step for a Sufi - fusion with God (waṣl).[1] It means the abandonment of concepts of time and place - that is, "how and where" (الكيف و الاين) - and especially the abandonment of desire (الهوى).

Moses has played a significant role in the development of Sufi doctrines. Al-Hujwīrī, for example, makes the following remark in his discussion of spiritual perfection (tamkīn): "Similarly, when Moses attained to tamkín, God bade him put off his shoes and cast away his staff (Kor. xx, 12), these being articles of travel and Moses being in the presence of God. The beginning of love is search, but the end is rest..."[2] Following such passages as Qur'ān 18:65-82, Moses has even been linked with al-Kiḍr, the mysterious patron of all Sufis.[3]

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1. Palmer, Oriental Mysticism, p. 81, defines waṣl as: "Meeting. The unity of God, also the mean between the external and the internal. Seeing God face to face."

2. Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 372. See also Q. 7:143 for another account of Moses' meeting with God.

3. Cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, Sufis of Andalusia, p. 157, note 2, which sees al-Kiḍr as gnosis ('ilm ladunnī) and Moses as the exoteric dispensation (sharī'ah). See also The Wisdom of the Prophets, pp. 103-108.

Due to his influence upon Ibn Qasī, the approach of al-Ḡazālī to Moses is especially worthy of examination. In the Miškāt al-Anwār, he deals specifically with Qur'ān 20:12, saying that the sacred valley represents the first stage of mystical transcendence.[1] This statement is remarkably similar to Ibn al-'Arīf's description of a descent into the valleys of al-fanā'.[2] As for removal of the two sandals, al-Ḡazālī says that this should be understood as renunciation of the two worlds: "I assert, ..., that Moses understood from the command 'Put off thy shoes' the Doffing of the Two Worlds, [the Material and the Spiritual] and obeyed the command literally by putting off his two sandals, and spiritually by putting off the Two Worlds."[3]

INTRODUCTION, ff. 2b - 6b

The author says that everything has two faces or aspects,[4] the superficial (ẓāhir) and the hidden (bāṭin). In addition to these two faces, everything has two sides: goodness (ḵayr) and evil (sharr). This statement applies

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1. Mishkāt al-Anwār, p. 75; cf. Anawati, Mystique Musulmane, p. 265.

2. See above, p. 36. Ibn al-'Arīf, in his discussion of tawakkul, specifically uses the examples of Moses and Rābi'ah al-'Adawiya; see Maḥāsin, p. 36.

3. Mishkāt al-Anwār, p. 77; cf. p. 79. See also the chapter entitled "Fundamental Examples of Symbolism: especially from the Story of Moses in the Koran." (pp. 73-77)

4. Cf. ibid., pp. 37-38.

even to the Qur'ān and to God. Specifically, ẓāhir can describe the apparent sense or literal meaning of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīṯ, while bāṭin is used for their esoteric interpretation. Ibn Qasī makes this point on f. 4a with a portion of Qur'ān 17:82: [ما هو] شفاء و رحمة المؤمنين و لا يزيد الظّالمين الّا خساراً [The revelation is] "...a balm and a blessing to true believers, though it adds nothing but ruin to the evil-doers." The Qur'ān, therefore, is simultaneously goodness for the believers and evil for the unbelievers.

Ẓāhir and bāṭin are two of the most important concepts in Sufism and have been dealt with by some of the greatest masters. Al-Hujwīrī said: "The outward and inward aspects cannot be divorced. The exoteric aspect of Truth without the esoteric is hypocrisy, and the esoteric without the exoteric is heresy."[1] The Sufis place particular emphasis on the divine attributes, and it is especially interesting that God is both aẓ-Ẓāhir and al-Bāṭin.[2] Al-Ġazālī was

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1. Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 14.

2. Cf. Q. 57:3 - "He is the first and the last, the visible [aẓ-ẓāhir] and the unseen [al-bāṭin]. He has knowledge of all things." Ibn al-'Arabī, on pp. 16-17 of The Wisdom of the Prophets, apparently had this āya in mind when he described God as: the First (al-Awwal) and the Last (al-Āḵir); the Exterior (aẓ-Ẓāhir) and the Interior (al-Bāṭin). Furthermore, humans were given the qualities of fear (al-ḵawf) and hope (ar-rajā'); reverent awe (al-hayba) and intimacy (al-uns). See also ibid., pp. 36-37.

particularly aware of this paradox in his Al-Maqṣad al-Asnā: "Praise, then, be to the One who is concealed from mankind by His light, the One who is hidden from them by the degree of His manifestness."[1]

Ibn Qasī explains that his work was written as he felt and experienced it, and not consciously and rationally.[2] Thus, he says that the order in which his work appears would be more systematic if the contents were arranged according to their importance, whereby, for example, the materials in 16b - 60a should be at the beginning. This preferred arrangement has been shown in the Table of Contents as Part IIIa, Part I, Part II, etc. The writer asks God to protect his book from all those who are not mystics, and adds that although the apparent meaning of his work will appear to be heretical and in conflict with the apparent meaning of the Qur'ān, in reality, however, the work is internally consistent with the Qur'ān. Ibn Qasī uses the story of Joseph as a basis for the organisation of his argument (see sūra 12), and claims that, like this sūra, the Kal' an-Na'layn is a true work. He gives the following advice to his readers:

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1. Ninety-Nine Names of God in Islam, p. 112.

2. This process has been described as "automatic writing"; see p. 17 of "Ṣūfīs" by R.A. Nicholson in E.I., 1st ed., vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

1. Don't discard it (as Joseph was thrown into a well).
2. Don't value it cheaply (as the merchants bought Joseph).
3. Don't try to prostitute it (as the Egyptian's wife attempted to seduce Joseph).
4. Don't reveal it to unbelievers[1] (like the dreams of Joseph).

THE TINKLING OF THE BELL, ff. 6b - 9a
صَلصَلةُ الجرسِ ن [2]

The following Ḥadīṯ is given at the beginning of f. 7a: مثل صلصلة الجرس "...like the ringing of a bell..."[3] This passage refers to the tinkling bell that often accompanied the Prophet's inspiration,[4] and it is given a symbolic interpretation by Ibn Qasī. It is

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1. Cf. al-Ḡazālī, Mishkāt al-Anwār, p. 44: "...the Mysteries must from the gaze of sinners be kept inviolate."
2. The letter ن is a mystical symbol for half the Universe, with the dot representing Muḥammad. Ibn Qasī uses the Nūn throughout his text as a sort of esoteric "amen". See below, p. 94, for a discussion of Nūn in relation to Q. 68:1.
3. This is a portion of the following Ḥadīṯ: احياناً يأتينى مثل صلصلة الجرس
4. E. Sell, "Inspiration (Muslim)", Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. VII, p. 355, gives the following: "Gabriel sometimes made his message known through the tinkling of a bell, a mode of operation which had a most disquieting effect on the Prophet. His body became agitated, and even on a cold day the perspiration rolled off him."

implied that the mystical apprentice must cleave to the tinkling of the bell, despite a lack of comprehension. One will eventually understand, simply by staying close to the master's "tinkling"; the sound is likened to a seed that sprouts and later gives fruit. The outside meaning of the Qur'ān is said to be a "tinkling"; only the eye of an illuminated heart can give an easy rendering of its hidden meaning. It is claimed that the writer's group of mystics is capable of interpreting hidden meanings, and is thus able to explain the tinkling.[1] Part of this explanation seems to include a definition of God's three aspects: spiritual energy (e.g., angels); God as reason (e.g., the prophets); God as truth (al-Ḥaqq).

The cornerstone[2] of this chapter is presented on f. 7b: الدّقائق و الرّقائق و الحقائق "Atoms, souls and truths".[3] Here begins a profound discussion of great importance to the whole philosophy of Ibn Qasī. Man's relation to God is seen as clearly pantheistic; God constitutes all atoms so God is really everything that

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1. Compare St. Paul's description of incomprehensible percussion as presented in I Corinthians 13:1: "I may speak in tongues of men or of angels, but if I am without love, I am a sounding gong or a clanging cymbal."

2. Ibn Qasī uses the word مَرَدّ at this point. Since رِدّ means a "support", cornerstone seems appropriate here.

3. See Burckhardt, ...Sufi Doctrine, 1963 ed., p. 34, for a discussion of al-ḥaqā'iq and ad-daqā'iq.

exists. Revealing Neoplatonic influences, the writer also says that the shape of things is determined by reason. Under the external appearance of matter, however, God is always to be found. As noted above, the spirit of God is revealed through the angels, and His "reason" is revealed through the prophets. But only the mystical path can reveal the absolute hidden reality of God - the Truth.

The whole of Qur'ān 13:15 is quoted on f. 8a:

و للّه يسجد من في آلسّموات و الارض
طوعاً و كرهاً و ظلالهم بالغدوّ و الاصال

> "All who dwell in the heavens and on earth shall prostrate themselves before Allah, some willingly and some by force; their very shadows shall bow to Him morning and evening."

This āya seems closely linked with the previous discussion of "Atoms, souls and truths", because it confirms the power of God over all men and "their shadows". Here, "shadows" has the specific meaning of posterity or descendants. So, God has absolute authority over all the sons of Adam, who come from one atom and one soul, as an entire crop comes from one seed. All future souls ("shadows") are latent inside the atoms, that is, latent inside God and so subject to Him.[1] As for "truths",

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1. Cf. Q. 4:1 - "Men, have fear of your Lord, who created you from a single soul."

they are seen as steps of the mystical path. This is the road that leads from supposed reality to the hidden essence of reality - to the absolute Reality, which is God.

On f. 8b the previous discussion is summarised as: كلّ باطن حقيقة لكلّ ظاهر "There are hidden truths behind all outside facts". The subsequent analogy is then made in relation to this statement. The earth and the sky were first united and then separated by God, leaving them tied by air. God and Adam were first united and then separated at Creation; they are still tied by the hidden reality of Truth. It is the goal of every mystic to attain this Truth.

THE HUMAN CARPET AND THE TRANQUILLITY OF THE SELF, ff. 9a - 13a

بِسَاط الانسُ و سَكِينَةُ النفسِ ن

This chapter opens with a portion of Qur'ān 7:172 -

و اذ اخذ ربّك من بنى ادم من ظهورهم ذرّيّتهم و اشهدهم
على نفسهم لست بربّكم قالوا بلى شهدنا

" Your Lord brought forth descendants from the loins of Adam's children, and made them testify against themselves. He said: 'Am I not your Lord?' They replied: 'We bear witness that you are.'" [1]

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1. Cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 19.

The remainder of the āya (not included in the manuscript) explains the reason why God exacted such a pledge: "This He did, lest you (mankind) should say on the Day of Resurrection: 'We had no knowledge of that,'..." So Ibn Qasī's theme is that God took all humanity (atoms and souls) from the backbone of Adam in order to receive their pledge of allegiance. The general Sufi interpretation of human genesis is that Adam was the original spirit (rūḥ); the original soul (nafs), in the form of Eve, came from Adam. Rūḥ and nafs then combined to produce the heart (qalb). Al-qalb is the supra-rational organ of intuition, corresponding to the physical heart as thought corresponds to the brain. As-Suhrawardī offers the following summary: "Like to their issuing from rūḥ and nafs, came into existence the atoms of progeny (which were a deposit in Ādam's backbone) by the union of Ādam and Havvā."[1]

The "human carpet" then refers to the a priori submission of all men to God. The imagery seems to be that of the carpet of humanity covering the earth and simultaneously acting as a prayer carpet for worshipping God. Tranquillity of the self comes from this complete submission to God and from the knowledge of His absolute reality.

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1. The 'Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif, p. 78. An enduring Muslim belief was that semen came from the backbone; this idea even showed up in the anatomical drawings of Leonardo da Vinci.

GOD-INSPIRED PEACE OF MIND, ff. 13a - 16b
فصل السّكينة

This chapter deals with Creation and with Muḥammad. The days needed to create the world were six, followed by one day of rest.[1] The days of Creation are then related to the succeeding prophetic ages of the world; Muḥammad represents the sixth and final prophetic age. The Day of Judgment is seen as the seventh period - a day of eternal rest (or eternal punishment). The Sufis go beyond this orthodox interpretation; they relate the six days of Creation to the six stages of the mystical path. For them, the seventh "day" is the mystical unity with God.[2]

The following unaccredited Ḥadīṯ appears on f. 16a:

دنیاوی کنا الاخرین و ماٰنحن من منشاء اخراوی نحن الاولون

This passage, dealing with the secrets of growth and decay initiated by Creation, is followed by Qur'ān 56:10-11:

"...and those to the fore و ٱلسّابقون ٱلسّابقون اولئك المقرّبون

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1. Q. 7:54 says: "Your Lord is Allah, who in six days created the heavens and the earth and then ascended His throne..." Cf. Q. 57:4 - "He created the heavens and the earth in six days and then mounted His throne."

2. The mystical stations normally number in excess of ten. Ibn Qasī, however, is apparently following the practice of considering the stations in pairs, thus giving twelve manāzil to his system. The seventh "day", related to mystical unity, is significant in that seven usually represents infinity.

(foremost shall be those!). Such are they that shall be brought near to their Lord..."

The central theme of this chapter is the sublime tranquillity that is granted by God to his elect.[1] Recounting the story of Moses, Ibn al-'Arabī expands beyond the literal meaning of the ark (at-tābūt) which bore him on the Nile. What seems to be indicated is the Ark of the covenant, wherein dwells the Lord and His peace (sakīna).[2] One of the clearest manifestations of sakīna derives from another revelation granted to Ibn al-'Arabī:

> The Seven Persons. I met them at Mecca, may God benefit all Muslims by them. I sat with them at a spot between the wall of the Hanbalites and the bench of Zamzam. They were indeed the elect of God. So overwhelmed were they by holy Tranquillity (sakīnah) and awe that they did not even blink their eyes. When I met them they were in a state of contemplation. No word passed between me and them on any matter, but I saw in them an almost unimaginable calm.[3]

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1. Cf. Q. 48:4 - "It was He who sent down tranquillity [as-sakīna] into the hearts of the faithful so that their faith might grow stronger."

2. The Arabic as-sakīna corresponds to the Hebrew shakhina; see Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, pp. 97-98.

3. Sufis of Andalusia, pp. 141-142.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD, ff. 16b - 20b

المَلَكُوتيات

This chapter represents the real beginning of Ibn Qasī's work; as explained previously, the first four chapters are to be considered as Part IIIa. The sovereignty of God is seen as "rays of heaven" and is based on the submission of the sons of Adam to God.[1] The proof of God's power, even over death, was given to Abraham in the miracle of the revived birds.[2] Inside Sufi hearts, there are rays that lead to the light of God. With other men the case is reversed; the rays of heaven must descend upon human hearts in the form of divine grace.

On f. 17a there begins a discussion of السُّبل الفجّاجُ "wide roads between two mountains".[3] This phrase apparently refers to the leap that a mystic attempts

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1. See above, pp.72-73; cf. the expression of God's sovereignty in Q. 36:83 - فسبحان الّذى بيده ملكوت "Glory be to Him who has control of all things."

2. Q. 2:260 - "When Abraham said: 'Show me, Lord, how You raise the dead,' He replied: 'Have you no faith?' 'Yes,' said Abraham, 'but I wish to reassure my heart.' 'Take four birds,' said He, 'draw them to you, and cut their bodies to pieces. Scatter them over the mountain-tops, then call them. They will come swiftly to you. Know that Allah is mighty and wise.'"

3. This phrase is used in Q. 71:20 - لتسلكوا منها سُبُلاً فجاجاً "...so that you may traverse its spacious paths." Note that the šadda in the manuscript's الفجّاجُ is apparently incorrect.

between two mountains - the mountains being symbols for man and God. Orthodox religion, on the other hand, follows a narrow path - perhaps never ascending the mountain that is God. The mystics, therefore, pursue the wide, ecstatic road to God; they avoid the narrow path of orthodoxy that usually leaves one only in the shadow of the Mountain.[1]

The nocturnal journey of Muḥammad (المعراج) and the celestial visions that he saw are then recounted. Between the various heavens there are curtains; common men see these curtains as obstacles between themselves and God. For the mystics, on the other hand, these curtains represent steps towards God. During the mi'rāj, the curtains of heaven were progressively opened; when all the veils were finally lifted, the Prophet saw himself, that is, he became God. This is the mystical union with God that is reflected by Muḥammad's saying: "You who look at me, look at God."[2]

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1. On this point, an interesting comparison can be made with the Christian doctrine of a difficult, narrow path to God; this concept represents a moral and ethical approach to salvation, and is based on such passages as Matthew 7:13-14: "'Enter by the narrow gate. The gate is wide that leads to perdition, there is plenty of room on the road, and many go that way; but the gate that leads to life is small and the road is narrow, and those who find it are few.'"

2. See Palmer, Oriental Mysticism, p. 52. This is the Islamic Logos doctrine, with Muḥammad seen as the Perfect Man and animating principle of the whole universe. The essential Idea (ḥaqīqa) of Muḥammad, as a channel for divine grace, became especially important to the Sufis; "... during the Middle Ages the Person of Mohammed stands in the very centre of the mystical life of Islam." (Nicholson, ...Personality in Súfism, p. 63)

The title of this chapter, al-Malakūtiyāt, derives from Islamic cosmology. Paradise is generally regarded as a pyramid or cone in eight levels, with a lotus tree (سدرة المنتهى) growing at the very top.[1] "Above the pyramid lie the worlds of dominion (malakūt) and power (djabarūt), the Throne and the Tabernacle of God."[2] It is appropriate to remember that one of the attributes of God is al-Malik, the King; al-Ġazālī has this to say: "Al-Malik is the one whose essence and attributes are independent of all existing things, but everything in existence is dependent upon (in need of) Him."[3] This statement is compatible with the pseudo-Empedoclean position of Ibn Masarra regarding a spiritual material common to all things, except God. The Mu'tazilite concept of a return to the original home of the soul may also have influenced Ibn Qasī: "'May your soul awake from the sleep of negligence and the slumber of ignorance, and may you live the life of the happy wise men, and may you be elevated in knowledge(s), and may your mind (himmah) ascend towards the Kingdom of Heaven, and may you in the other world be among the blessed.'"[4]

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1. See the account in Q. 53:13-18.

2. See "Djanna" in the Shorter E.I., p. 88.

3. ...Names of God..., p. 18.

4. An extract from the Encyclopedia of the Ikwān aṣ-Ṣafā', appearing on p. 187 of the article "The Gnostic Technical Language in the Rasā'il Iḫwān al-Ṣafā'" by Geo Widengren in Actas - IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, pp. 181-203.

THE QUALITY OF WONDER AND SILENCE, ff. 20b - 31a
عارضةُ البهتة و السكتة

Wonder and silence represent attitudes that are necessary for attaining the mystical union with God. Adam had these virtues, and he subsequently became the vicar of God, الخليفة (see f. 20b).[1] The prophets who followed Adam were also characterised by wonder and silence.

Ibn Qasī enumerates nine heavens, associated with the nine prophets. This was "standard" Sufi cosmology, as later taught by Ibn al-'Arabī in the East.[2] There are covers between the eight levels of paradise, with lights emanating from higher to lower heavens. Above the peak of the eighth heaven is the Throne of God (العرش),[3] sometimes considered as the ninth heaven. For the mystic, the Throne of God is one's decision to be nothing - thus becoming everything in God. On f. 22a an unauthenticated

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1. Cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 12, and Q. 2:30 - "...'I am placing on the earth one that shall rule as My deputy,'..."

2. The influence of Ibn al-'Arabī on the Persian mystics is well-known; Sufis of Andalusia, p. 49, discusses Ibn al-'Arabī as "...the link between Eastern and Western Sufism,..." See the cosmological chart on p. 32 of Palmer, Oriental Mysticism, and Arberry's introduction (esp. p. iii) to the 1938 edition of Palmer's work. Cf. "Al-Ghazzālī and the Seven Spheres", pp. 26-28 of Gairdner's introduction to Mishkāt al-Anwār.

3. Al-'Arš has been shown to be synonymous with Kursī, a word found in Q. 2:256 and 38:33. See Cl. Huart, "Kursī", E.I., 1st ed., vol. II, p. 1156.

Ḥadīṯ describes God's creation of the Throne:

عَطْف: قولهُ عليه السّلم خلق اللّه العرش رباعاً

> " An addition: The saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him) was that God created the Throne with four legs."

These four legs (or parts) most likely refer to the four primal elements of earth, air, fire and water. The Sufi concept of al-ʻArš seems to be simultaneously literal and figurative. On one hand, the belief is that God is actually sitting on his Throne.[1] On the other hand, the Throne represents the abstraction of Primal Intelligence holding sway over all hearts.[2] Most important for the Sufi, al-ʻArš is the inward qibla, an orientation to the mystery of Divine contemplation.[3]

THE DEEP MOUNTAIN-PASS, ff. 31a - 32a

الفج العَميق ن

The subject of this chapter was introduced previously in the chapter on al-Malakūtiyāt as: السُّبل الفجَّاجُ The present chapter is entitled الفج العَميق . Whereas

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1. On this point, the Sufis seem to agree with the orthodox Mālikites; see as-Suhrawardī, A Sufi Rule for Novices, p. 28, Q. 7:54, and Q. 20:5.

2. See as-Suhrawardī, The 'Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif, p. 122, for a discussion of the Throne as the universal qalb.

3. See al-Ḥujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 300. This may explain why some of Ibn Masarra's disciples apparently adopted a qibla away from the Ka'ba.

the plural al-fijjāj was previously employed, we now have the singular al-faj[1] (with the adjective al-ʿamīq). Al-ʿamīq is especially interesting because it means "deep" or "profound", both in a physical and emotional sense. The reader is thus given the image of an enormous crevice between two mountains, symbolising the psychological abyss that separates man from God.[2]

Ibn Qasī probably derived the imagery of a mountain-pass from his master Ibn al-ʿArīf, who described the mystical journey as a descent from a hill into the valleys of extinction (fanāʾ).[3] So for the Sufis, this deep mountain-pass represents the gap between self (nafs) and annihilation of the self (fanāʾ). In order to cross this chasm (and thereby reach God) one must first destroy the self by leaping into the abyss - essentially, a mystical suicide of all desires. In this way, the mystic becomes nothing and consequently crosses the gap between himself and God, thus becoming everything. This process has been alluded to by many Sufis, including the lineal master of

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1. The MS. has no šadda on the jīm here; the plural is given as الفجّاج Lane (p. 2339) gives the correct forms: " فَجّ A wide road between two mountains;... and فُجَاج signifies the same... (plural) فِجَاج ..." Fajj appears once in the Qurʾān (22:27), while its plural is used twice (21:31 and 71:20).

2. Cf. Ibn al-ʿArīf, Maḥāsin, chapter 10, for the story of a mountain hermit who descends into a crevice in order to taste God's purest love.

3. See above, p. 36. Even earlier, al-Ġazālī had discussed the spiritual symbolism of the Mountain and its Valleys; see Mishkāt al-Anwār, p. 74.

both Ibn Qasī and Ibn al-'Arīf: "...the ultimate goal of the mystic, according to al-Junayd, is to achieve this condition of self-destruction (fanā') as the prelude to its restoration to its original condition of eternity (baqā'), from which creation in time has robbed it."[1]

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FOUNDATION AND THE HOPING FOR DEANTHROPOMORPHISM AND SANCTIFICATION, ff. 32a - 34b

قاعدة التأسيس و لولوة التنزيه و التقديس

HOPING, ff. 34b - 35b
فصل من اللولوة

These two chapters deal with the mystical path versus the way leading to damnation. The principle of the [mystic's] foundation (qā'ida at-ta'sīs) is the destruction of the self. This approach has a decidedly Christian ring; those who destroy themselves for God in this life will gain eternal life.[2]

Ibn Qasī then makes a very clever construction; the word لو ("if") has apparently been transformed into لولوة, literally "if-ing", i.e., "hoping".[3] This

1. Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy, p. 267. See also: as-Suhrawardī, The 'Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif, p. 107, and Ibn al-'Arabī, Sufis of Andalusia, p. 54, note 3.
2. Cf. Matthew 10:39 - "'By gaining his life a man will lose it; by losing his life for my sake, he will gain it.'"
3. Because there are no diacritical marks in the manuscript, لولوة has been assumed to be lawlawa, which translates to "if-ing" or "wringing" [the soul?]. Ibn Qasī may even be playing on the word "pearl" (lu'lu'a); aš-Šabistarī, Gulshan I Raz, p. 56, for example, compares the tenets of orthodox Islam to shells that may produce pearls of knowledge of the Truth, so arriving at sanctification (taqdīs).

mystical "if-ing" means forgetting the self, so that ultimately one neither hopes nor wishes for anything. The normal concept of lawlawa is given by as-Suhrawardī: "Do not say: 'If it were' (law), because law starts the action of Satan."[1] So law can imply dissatisfaction with the divine decrees and should be avoided by the ordinary Muslim. But the Sufi method of lawlawa is a hoping that leads to an elimination of hoping, once union with God has been achieved. Ibn Qasī is evidently following the teaching of Ibn al-'Arīf concerning the importance of law to mystical illumination:

ولو لا ظُلمة الكون لظهر نور الغيب ولو لا فتنة النفس لارتفعت الحجب ولو لا العلايق لا نكشفت الحقايق ولو لا العلل لبرزت القدرة ولو لا التكلّفَ لصَفتِ المعرفة ولو لا الطمعُ لرسخت المحبة ولو لا حظ باقٍ لا حرق الاشتياقُ الارواحَ ولو لا العبدُ لشوهد الربُّ فاذا انكشف الحجاب تحسم هذه الاسباب و ارتفعت العوايق بقطع هذه العلايق كان كما قيل ....[2]

> If it were not for the darkness of the physical world, the light of the divine mysteries would appear. If it were not for rebellion by one's own self, the veils [between God and man] would disappear. If it were not for worldly attractions, it is certain that spiritual realities

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1. A Sufi Rule for Novices, p. 71. As-Suhrawardī obviously had the following Ḥadīṯ in mind:
باب ما يجوز من اللوّ و إيّاك و اللوْ ، و اللوّ فإنّ اللوْ ، اللوّ يفتح ، تفتح عمل الشيطان ، من الشيطان

2. Ibn al-'Arīf, Maḥāsin, p. 76.

> would be revealed. If it were not for human concepts of cause and effect, divine powers would appear. If it were not for hypocrisy, absolute knowledge would be pure and clear. If it were not for greed, the love of God would become deeply-rooted. If it were not for worldly attachments, the fire of passionate love for God would blaze up in human spirits. If it were not for the remoteness of the slave, he would see his Master. If the veils of the body and reason were torn away, and if hindrances were removed by cutting off earthly attachments, it would be as the poet said:...

If all desires are completely wrung out of the nafs, one reaches the states of tanzīh and taqdīs. Tanzīh is generally considered to be the affirmation of the absolutely transcendent nature of God and is diametrically opposed to tašbīh,[1] the attachment of material attributes to God. While Mālikite theology showed a marked tendency towards anthropomorphism, the other Sunnite schools have generally sought a middle way between tanzīh and tašbīh. The mystics, on the other hand, lean towards tanzīh but recognise its limitations:

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1. Tašbīh should not be confused with tasbīḥ, the action of glorifying God. Cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 13, for the different attitudes of Adam and the Angels regarding tasbīḥ.

" From blindness arose the doctrine of
'Assimilation', [tašbīh]

From one-eyedness that of God's remoteness.
[tanzīh]" [1]

Ultimately, the Sufi sees tašbīh as the complement of tanzīh,[2] as previously bāṭin was shown to be compatible with ẓāhir. The manifestations of God only serve to affirm His perfection and transcendence.[3] With the fulfilment of tanzīh, the mystic reaches taqdīs, the mystical union with God.[4]

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1. Aš-Šabistarī, Gulshan I Raz, p. 10. Similarly, al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 270, gives the following: "To infer the existence of God from intellectual proofs is assimilation (tashbíh) and to deny it on the same grounds is nullification (ta'tíl)."

2. This interpretation can be derived from Q. 42:11, "Nothing can be compared with Him. [tanzīh] He alone hears all and sees all." [tašbīh] See also Affifi, ...Ibnul 'Arabí, " Transcendence and Immanence" (pp. 18-24), for Ibn al-'Arabī's approach to tanzīh and tašbīh.

3. See Burckhardt, ...Sufi Doctrine, 1963 ed., pp. 47, 59.

4. Ibn al-'Arabī describes tanzīh at-taqdīs in several sections of his Futūḥāt; see vol. III, pp. 85, 126, and vol. IV, p. 177. But he does not exclude the importance of tašbīh: " The exoterist who insists uniquely on the Divine transcendence (at-tanzíh) (to the exclusion of the immanence) (at-tashbíh) slanders God and His messengers..." (The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 32)

AN EXAMPLE FOR DECODING THE SECRETS OF ATOMS AND CLEARING AWAY THE MYSTERIES OF SOULS, ff. 35b - 36a

عبرة من حل رموز الدقائق و فك معميات الرقائق

As explained in the chapter entitled "The tinkling of the bell", ad-daqā'iq ("atoms") represent the sons of Adam, and ar-raqā'iq ("souls") represent all human spirits. The example given in this chapter is that at night God comes to give us goodness. This "night", however, is given a mystical interpretation; it makes everything dark except the illuminated soul of the mystic. Ibn Qasī says that there is a unity of these mystical souls, as there is also a unity of all light.

The Sufis have often associated their mystical illumination with light.[1] Al-Ġazālī, for example, wrote his famous treatise, Miškāt al-Anwār, as an interpretation of Qur'ān 24:35 -

> "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light may be compared to a niche that enshrines a lamp, the lamp within a crystal of star-like brilliance. It is lit from a blessed olive tree neither eastern nor western. Its very oil would shine forth, though no fire touched it. Light upon light; Allah guides to His light whom He will. Allah coins metaphors for men. He has knowledge of all things."

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1. Ibn Qasī, in fact, uses the term ...Iqtibās al-Anwār... in the title of his work.

As-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, put to death at Aleppo in 1191, was the most famous exponent of the mystical conception of God as light. Some Sufis have even reconciled darkness (mystical poverty) with their concept of light (mystical intuition):

> " Blackness of face in both worlds is poverty,
> Blackness is most precious, neither more nor less.
> What shall I say? since this saying is fine,
> 'A light night that shineth in a dark day'. " [1]

The approach of Ibn Qasī seems similar to that of Šabistarī: the mystical "night" is really illumination, because it reveals the Truth. The "day" of visible phenomena is, on the other hand, something that obscures the hidden Reality. Ibn al-'Arīf expressed the same idea in his Maḥāsin:

ولو لا ظُلمة الكون لظهر نور الغيب

> And if it were not for the darkness of the physical world, the light of the divine mysteries would appear.[2]

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1. Aš-Šabistarī, Gulshan I Raz, p. 14.

2. Translated from the original Arabic in Maḥāsin, p. 76. See above, p. 83.

THE EMERALD, ff. 36a - 37a

فصل الزّمرّدة

The Sufis frequently say that various gems have occult qualities.[1] The hidden characteristic of the emerald is the virtue of "listening and following"; by this method the mystic comes to the treasure that is God. Adam, for example, became the "caliph" of God by listening and following; he subsequently taught this method to the angels, who passed on the knowledge to the prophets. This example of "listening and following" helps to explain the extreme devotion of Ibn Qasī's revolutionary followers. As-Suhrawardī explains the master-disciple relationship as follows: "The murīd should not leave his shaykh before the eye of his heart opens. The distinctive mark of the murīd is 'to listen and obey'."[2]

Folio 37a deals largely with al-Mi'rāj, the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad to the seven heavens, made on the 27th of Rajab from Jerusalem. As explained previously in the chapter "al-Malakūtiyāt", Ibn Qasī gives a mystical interpretation of al-Mi'rāj.[3]

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1. Burckhardt, on p. 2 of his introduction to Ibn al-'Arabī's The Wisdom of the Prophets, gives the following: "The incorruptible character of the precious stone corresponds to the unchanging nature of Wisdom."
2. A Sufi Rule for Novices, p. 43.
3. Ibn Qasī's ideas concerning al-Mi'rāj seem to follow those of al-Ġazālī; cf. Mishkāt al-Anwār, introduction, pp. 7-8.

THE PLATFORM, ff. 37a - 38a

فصل المنصّة

The concluding passage of the previous chapter deals with ملك الموت - the Angel of Death. The present chapter continues this theme in relation to mysticism, with the Sufi šayḵ being compared to the Angel of Death. Whereas the Angel brings physical death, the mystical master teaches one to kill the desires of the self. In this way, the Sufi reaches the platform where the very self dies. This platform is associated with the Throne of God, because it represents mystical union. In this condition, of course, physical death becomes irrelevant, and the possibilities for revolutionary fervour are obvious. For his mystical disciples, the power of the master actually comes to eclipse the power of the Angel of Death.

REVEALING AND APPROACHING THE EXPERIENCE OF IBRĀHĪM AL-ḴALĪL, ff. 38a - 44b

تنزيل و تقريب إحساس إبراهيم الخليل ن

This chapter begins with the opening of Qur'ān 3:185; كلّ نفس ذائقة الموت "Every soul shall taste death". Ibn Qasī probably makes use of this āya in order to exploit the mystery inherent in the word nafs. According to context or interpretation, nafs can mean soul, psyche, spirit, essence, mind, life, or human being. At Creation, there was a conjunction of soul (nafs) and spirit (rūḥ) which produced the human heart (qalb); this

was the Merciful Breath (an-nafas ar-raḥmānī), considered to be the manifesting power of God.[1] This combination of nafs and rūḥ in man is a divine mystery that has attracted the attention of many Sufis. Al-Kalābādī, for example, makes his point by a subtle play on words: "The majority are agreed that the spirit is an object [ma'nā] through which the body lives. One Ṣūfī said: 'It is a light, fragrant breath (rūḥ) through which life subsists, while the soul (nafs) is a hot wind (rīḥ) through which the motions and desires exist.'"[2] Owing to the complexity of human motivations, the soul has frequently been sub-divided. It may, for example, either command or forbid, and this duality is expressed by the proverb: فلان يؤامر نفسيه "Such as one who consults his two souls".[3] Ibn al-'Arabī eventually developed four degrees of the nafs.[4] But the

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1. Q. 15:29 says: "...I have fashioned him and breathed of My spirit into him..." Cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, pp. 75 and 142.

2. The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs, p. 52.

3. Cf. Lane, p. 2827.

4. Ibn al-'Arabī, ibid., p. 142, gives the following summary:
   1. an-nafs al-ḥayawānīya, the animal soul
   2. an-nafs al-ammāra, the egoistic soul which commands; cf. Q. 12:53
   3. an-nafs al-lawwāma, the soul that blames through consciousness; cf. Q. 75:2
   4. an-nafs al-muṭma'inna, the soul at peace in the Spirit; cf. Q. 89:27.

divine secrets of the nafs remain, as as-Suhrawardī explains: " The ma'rifat of nafs is in all qualities difficult, for nafs hath the nature of a chameleon.... The recognising of nafs in all its qualities, and reaching to a knowledge of it is not the power of any created thing." [1]

Ibn Qasī takes full advantage of the ambiguity inherent in nafs, as he once again presents a hidden meaning from the Qur'ān. The external idea of the āya that opens this chapter is clear: all human beings will eventually die. It must be remembered, however, that a mystic usually associates the nafs with desires and appetites. For most men, the end of desires and appetites comes with the end of life. For the mystic, however, the self can be killed while the body still remains physically alive. The example presented by Ibn Qasī is that of Abraham being put into the fire.[2] Fire is one of the most paradoxical of all symbols, being associated with both death and rebirth. In the case of Abraham, he was saved from physical death,[3] but not from annihilation of the self (fanā').[4] Through this experience, Abraham attained

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1. The 'Awārifu-l-Ma'ārif, p. 73.

2. Cf. Q. 21:68-69.

3. Q. 21:69 says: " 'Fire,' We said, 'be cool to Abraham and keep him safe.'"

4. Nicholson, on p. xxi of his introduction to Kashf al-Maḥjúb, gives the position of al-Hujwīrī: "He compares annihilation [fanā'] to burning by fire, which transmutes the quality of all things to its own quality, but leaves their essence unchanged."

the absolute Reality in a single leap, thus becoming the real Abraham.[1] Consequently, Ibn Qasī stresses that all mystical disciples should remember Abraham and should try to approach his experience of fanā'.

PROOF AND EXPLANATION, ff. 44b - 45a

فرقان و بيان

This chapter, using previously presented ideas,[2] gives more examples from Muḥammad's Mi'rāj. The Prophet moved through the various heavens by the method of "listening and following". As he progressed, the "tinkling of the bells" subsided,[3] indicating increased clarity and revelation.

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1. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 40, gives the following: "Abraham is called (in the Koran) the 'Intimate Friend' (of God; Khalîl Allâh) because he 'penetrated' and assimilated the Qualities of the Divine Essence, like the colour which penetrates a coloured object, in such a manner that the accident is confused with the substance, and not like something spread out which fills a given space; or again, his name signifies that God (al-haqq) has penetrated essentially the form of Abraham." Page 45 of this work refers to Ibn Masarra and his pairing of Abraham with the angel Michael; see above, p. 10. Cf. al-Ġazālī, Mishkāt al-Anwār, pp. 8, 71-73, and 97.

2. Evidently because of this repetition, there have been claims that this chapter was a later addition to the Kal' an-Na'layn. This section was, however, most probably part of the original work. See Ibn al-'Arabī's comments on ff. 147b-148b.

3. Cf. f. 45a: سكن لصلصلة الأجراس

The curtains of the heavens were withdrawn in stages to finally reveal the Truth.[1] As previously explained, the Truth is simultaneously God and Muḥammad.[2]

The word used for "proof", furqān, is of special importance.[3] It may also be translated as discrimination, separation or salvation. Interestingly, al-Furqān is another name for the Qur'ān, meaning The Proof or The Evidence or even The Salvation. Ibn Qasī apparently sees furqān as mystical illumination, in much the same way as as-Sarrāj. "For as-Sarrâj, the true meaning of 'lights of the hearts' was the cognition (ma'rifah) of the furqân and clear insight (bayân) from God, as the word furqân in Qur'ān 8:29/29 was explained by the commentators as 'a light placed in the heart, so as to decide between truth and untruth.'"[4]

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1. Cf. al-Ġazālī, Mishkāt al-Anwār, pp. 4-9 and 88-98.
2. See above, p. 77.
3. See R. Paret's article on "Furḳān" in E.I., 2nd ed., vol. II, pp. 949-950.
4. Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant, p. 162. Cf. Q. 8:29 - "Believers, if you fear Allah He will give you guidance [furqān]..."

THE WELL-KEPT SECRET OF QUR'ĀN 68:1, ff. 45a - 46a

السّر المصون فی نون و القلم و ما یسطرون

This chapter follows previous examples of ta'wīl, the mystical practice of interpreting the Qur'ān allegorically. The present āya (" N. By the Pen, and what they write,... ") has lent itself to a variety of interpretations. The consonant Nūn seems especially difficult to define.[1] Sale, for example, offered all of the following as possible meanings for Nūn: inkhorn; fish; whale; Behemoth; table of divine decrees; one of the rivers in paradise.[2]

Ibn Qasī employs the Nūn as an esoteric symbol throughout his Kal' an-Na'layn. In this particular chapter, the consonant refers to the story of Jonah;[3] more precisely, Nūn is the actual whale that swallowed him. Indeed, Qur'ān 68:48 mentions Jonah as صاحب الحوت - "he of the whale". Ibn Qasī says that people in paradise are given whale's liver to eat; in a like manner, Jonah was purified by eating from inside the whale. Following this analogy,

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1. There are various theories about the mysterious consonants that open several suwar of the Qur'ān. The Sufis frequently use these consonants as points of departure for esoteric interpretations.

2. Cf. the notes to Sale's translation of Q. 68:1. See also Palmer's explanation of this āya on p. 34 of Oriental Mysticism.

3. Jonah is especially important to the Sufis. Brown, for example, describes the pledge (mubāya'a) of the Qādarite murīd to his muršid, who recites from the Qur'ān, including the entire tenth sūra (Yūnus). See The Darvishes, p. 111.

everything written, especially the Qur'ān, must be examined for its internal meaning. Ibn Qasī also cites the anger of Jonah, which is seen as meritorious in that it represents a struggle against the self. Jonah's anger led him to be swallowed by the whale, and this in turn led to his attainment of the Truth.[1]

The commentary of Ibn al-'Arabī more or less corresponds to the statements of Ibn Qasī. He gives Nūn as meaning: inkpot; whale; and fish. The reference to inkpot is especially significant, and Ibn al-'Arabī indicates that Qur'ān 68:1 refers to the group of divine pens that record human sins. This writing, like the words of God, is endless.[2]

THE NOTEWORTHY SECRET OF THE SUPREME PEN
AND THE PRESERVED TABLET, ff. 46a - 46b

السّر الملحوظ فى القلم الأعلى و اللوح المحفوظ

In general Sufi terminology, the Supreme Pen (al-Qalam al-'A'lā) is analogous to the First Intellect (al-'Aql al-Awwal) or the Universal Spirit (ar-Rūḥ al-Kullīya). God uses the Supreme Pen to inscribe all destinies on the

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1. Cf. Q. 21:87 - "And of Dhul-Nun: how he went away in anger, thinking We had no power over him. But in the darkness he cried: 'There is no god but You. Glory be to You! I have done wrong.'"

2. See below, p. 99.

Guarded Tablet (al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfūẓ) which corresponds to the Universal Soul (an-Nafs al-Kullīya).[1]

This chapter refers once again to a stage of Muḥammad's nocturnal journey. During his passage through the heavens, the Prophet could hear the Supreme Pen writing the Truth. The writing of this Pen represents mystical progression; it is the Pen that inscribes the Truth on the nafs. At the end of the mystical path neither Pen nor Tablet exists; only the Truth remains. On f. 46a Ibn Qasī gives a concise summation of his mystical philosophy in reference to the Pen and the Tablet:

لا اعلم من القلم و لا احفظ من اللوح
و القلم عالم التنفيذ و التقدير و ملأ
التدوين و التسطير و حفظة التصنيف

There is nothing more knowledgeable than the Pen, and there is nothing that preserves [knowledge] more than the Tablet. The Pen refers to: the realm of divine execution and judgment; the host of angels engaged in writing and compiling; and the keepers of the final compilation.[2]

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1. Cf. aš-Šabistarī, Gulshan I Raz, p. 1, note 3; Burckhardt, ...Sufi Doctrine, 1963 ed., p. 83; Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, glossary, pp. 136, 143.

2. Cf. Q. 96:1-5 and Q. 85:21-22.

THE SQUEAKING OF THE PEN, ff. 46b - 60a
صَرِيفُ القلم

This extensive chapter generally deals with listening and obedience - the essence of the mystical path. Although a series of spiritual exercises are prescribed, no specific stages of the Sufi way are mentioned. This is in contrast to the definite mystical stations given by Ibn Qasī's master, Ibn al-'Arīf, in his Maḥāsin al-Majālis. It should be remembered, however, that Ibn Qasī's work is ecstatic rather than rational. We were reminded in the introduction that the book was done under inspiration - not in a conscious, orderly manner.

THINGS PERTAINING TO PARADISE, ff. 60a - 74b
الفردوسيات[1]

This chapter presents the ways to Truth and deals with understanding the hidden meanings of the external aspects of religion. Specifically, the eight heavens of paradise are presented as corresponding to the eight great prophets of Islam: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Jesus, and Muḥammad.[2] The ninth heaven corresponds directly to God and so to the Truth.

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1. Al-firdawsiyyāt is an adaptation from the Persian firdaws, which appears twice in the Qur'ān: cf. Q. 18:107 and Q. 23:11.

2. Cf. Burckhardt's introduction to Ibn al-'Arabī's The Wisdom of the Prophets.

Ibn Qasī's approach can be compared to the summation of Persian mystical cosmology as given by Palmer, who describes a hierarchy of nine heavenly spheres.[1] Each of these heavens possesses a Soul and an Intelligence, with the Intelligence of the highest heaven (al-ʿarš) being the Primal Intelligence. Palmer, following the upward progress of man, gives the residents of the various heavens:[2]

1st: Múmin, "Believer"

2nd: ʾAbid, "Worshipper"

3rd: Záhid, "Recluse"

4th: ʾArif, "One who knows"

5th: Welí, "Saint"

6th: Nebí, "Prophet"

7th: Rusúl, "Apostle"

8th: Ulu ʾlʾ Azm, "One who has a mission"

9th: Khatm, "The Seal"

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1. Cf. Oriental Mysticism, p. 35.

2. Cf. ibid., pp. 58-59.

THINGS PERTAINING TO GOD, ff. 74b - 78a

الرّحمانيّات

This chapter is entitled simply ar-Raḥmāniyyāt, a derivation from ar-Raḥmān, "The Merciful", one of the most frequently mentioned attributes of God. This name of God, despite any apparent limitations, really indicates the infinite Mercy of God that was the cause of Creation.[1]

The present chapter is specifically tied to Qur'ān 31:27-28, which partially appears in the middle of f. 75a:

٢٧: و لو أن ما فى الارض من شجرة اقلام و البحر يمدّه
من بعده سبعة البحر ما نفدت كلمات اللّه ....

٢٨: ما خلقكم و لا بعثكم الّاكنفس و احدة ....

27 - "If all the trees in the earth were pens, and the sea, with seven more seas to replenish it, were ink, the writing of Allah's words could never be finished."[2]

28 - "He created you as one soul, and as one soul He will bring you back to life."

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1. Cf. Burckhardt, ...Sufi Doctrine, 1963 ed., p. 49. Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, pp. 124-125, cites Q. 40:15 and Q. 20:4 before relating Mercy to the Throne: "...all that the Throne englobes is reached by the Divine Mercy (rahmah), conforming to the Word (hadîth qudsî); 'My Mercy englobes all things', so the Throne englobes all things. It is from the principle of this revelation of rahman on the Throne which englobes all (ar-'arsh al-muhît) that the Divine Mercy is spread to the interior of the earth..." [All transcriptions are sic]

2. Cf. Q. 18:109: "Say: 'If the waters of the sea were ink with which to write the words of my Lord, the sea would surely be consumed before His words were finished, though we brought another sea to replenish it.'" See also Ibn al-'Arīf's Maḥāsin, p. 103.

The first āya above deals with the limitless words of God; the use of the word "seven" is especially symbolic of no limit. The second āya says that creating or resurrecting all humanity is as easy for God as the creation or resurrection of a single human being. Following these verses, limitless words and limitless power become parallel lines of Truth for the mystical disciple; limitless words correspond to listening and limitless power to seeing. Most importantly for the mystic, seeing is inseparable from, and leads progressively to, the One that is seen.

SESAME, ff. 78a - 81b

فصلُ السّمسمة

A sesame seed is, for Ibn Qasī, symbolic of the small amount of Truth revealed to him. The writer hopes, nonetheless, that this "sesame" might serve the reader as a window to the Truth. This symbolism of the sesame seed tends to remind one of the Christian parable of the mustard seed.[1]

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1. Cf. Matthew 13:31-32: "'The Kingdom of Heaven is like a mustard-seed, which a man took and sowed in his field. As a seed, mustard is smaller than any other; but when it has grown it is bigger than any garden-plant; it becomes a tree, big enough for the birds to come and roost among its branches.'"

On f. 78b of this chapter, the seemingly unrelated topic of prayers (الصّلوات) is presented. Here, prayer is seen as self-revision and self-discussion; as such, it temporarily removes one from susceptibility to the desires of the self. Ibn Qasī is really describing the subtle, inverse relationship of ritual purity to mystical purity.[1] As the mystic gradually succeeds in destroying his selfish desires, prayer becomes less and less necessary. For one who has reached the Truth, prayer has become unnecessary and, indeed, irrelevant.[2]

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1. Purity, the pervading theme of this chapter, is first indicated by the word sesame (as-simsima), which normally has masculine gender in Arabic. Ibn Qasī may have had the following Tradition in mind: "'Three things of your world, amongst all that it contains in triple, have been made worthy for me of love', that is to say, women, perfume, and prayer..." (Ibn al-'Arabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 117). On p. 123, Ibn al-'Arabī notes that the Prophet used the feminine collective to describe these things, even though perfume is masculine. In the case of Ibn Qasī, he presents sesame (feminine) and prayer (feminine) in this chapter; the next chapter includes perfume (masculine).

2. Cf. Guillaume, Islam, p. 145: "One of the Persian mystics, Abū Sa'īd (d. A.D. 1049), regarded the sharī'a as superfluous to those who had attained the goal of the mystic Path. He would not allow his disciples to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and is said to have forbidden the dervishes to interrupt their dancing when the Muezzin called to prayer. Here there is a clear departure from the practices of the early Sūfīs, who faithfully observed the Sunna in these matters."

THE TOOTH-STICK, PERFUME, CLOTHING, AND DECORATION, ff. 81b - 82a

السّواك و الطيبُ و الثيابُ و الزّينة

The items presented in this short chapter are all symbols for mystical purification.[1] Outwardly, the mouth is cleansed by a tooth-stick; inwardly, bad words are remedied by silence. Perfume[2] rids the body of bad odours, indicating that chastity is the remedy for carnal desires. Clothing covers the body of a man, but the "dress" of a mystic is the Path. Decorations make a man appear brilliant, but true brilliance belongs to the šayḵ; he so illuminates his brothers that they radiate like shining jewels upon the mystical apprentices.

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1. Cf. al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 291: "Purification is of two kinds: outward and inward... The Ṣúfís are always engaged in purification outwardly and in unification inwardly." See also Q. 2:222 - "Allah loves those that turn to Him in repentance and strive to keep themselves clean." The Sufis seek the hidden meaning of this āya, which outwardly refers to menstruation.

2. Cf. the esoteric implications of perfume as discussed by Ibn al-ʿArabī on pp. 124-127 of his Wisdom of the Prophets.

ZAKĀT, ALMS, AND LIKE CHARITIES, ff. 82a - 82b

و اما الزّكوة و الصّدقة و ما أشبه ذلك من إعمال البرّ ن

The theme of this chapter revolves around the implications of zakāt, the obligatory alms prescribed by Islamic law. The importance of zakāt lies in its simultaneous capacity for internal and external purification. Ibn Qasī gives specific consideration to the body and to religion. Regarding the body, he advises purification from all material things as if they were dirt; this idea is tied up with traditional donations to charity.[1] As for religion, Ibn Qasī proposes purification of its external appearance by means of its internal essence; his methodology involves esoteric interpretations of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīt.

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1. Cf. al-Ġazālī, The Mysteries of Almsgiving, p. 25: "...the verbal expression of the unity of God is of little value by itself. The degree of the person's love is tested when he parts with his beloved. Property and wealth are much loved by all people because they are the means by which they enjoy the pleasures of this world, and because of them they love life and hate death, although through it they will meet [God] the beloved. As a proof of the truthfulness of their claim that they love God they have renounced property and wealth, the objects of their [earthly] attention and devotion."

FASTING, ff. 82b - 84b

فصل في الصَّوم

For the orthodox Muslim, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān is one of the five principal religious obligations. For various Sufis, fasting became especially important for its value to mystical purification.[1] For Ibn Qasī, Ramaḍān is symbolic for the time when all people will congregate in the Truth; he sees fasting as a veil that obscures selfish desires, thus giving a clearer view of the Truth.

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1. Cf. al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 36: "...God commands His servants to fast, and when they keep the fast He gives them the name of 'faster' (ṣá'im), and nominally this 'fasting' (ṣawm) belongs to Man, but really it belongs to God. Accordingly God told His Apostle and said: Al-ṣawm lí wa-ana ajzí bihi, 'Fasting is mine,' because all His acts are His possessions, and when men ascribe things to themselves, the attribution is formal and metaphorical, not real." Al-Ġazālī, The Mysteries of Fasting, p. 5, further explains that fasting belongs to God in two respects: unlike other forms of worship, it is concealed from men; and it defeats Satan, who works through human appetites. Ibn al-'Arabī, Sufis of Andalusia, p. 56, describes Sufi interpretations of faqr (poverty), i'tikāf (secluded prayer), and tahajjud (nocturnal vigil) - all associated with the Fast of Ramaḍān.

ON PAYMENT OF ZAKĀT IN LIEU OF FASTING,
ff. 84b - 85a

حقيقة زكاة الفطر ن

It may not be possible for a Muslim to fast during Ramaḍān, due to pregnancy, hospitalisation and so forth. In these circumstances, zakāt must then be paid in lieu of fasting.[1]

Fasting for the mystic, however, is not a consciously desired abstinence; it is rather related to the concept of zakāt as purification. For Ibn Qasī, mystical "fasting" corresponds to a stage of illumination or revelation. The Day of Doom is symbolically linked to his interpretation of fasting; by the light of Truth a mystic is "resurrected" from the death of self, thus becoming truly alive in the absolute reality of God. Eating after the fast of Ramaḍān is compared to the Truth that was given to Jonah after his anger.[2]

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1. Cf. al-Ḡazālī, "The Duties Attending the Breaking of the Fast", pp. 14-16 of The Mysteries of Fasting. These duties (lawāzim) are four in number: qaḍā', making amends; kaffāra, atonement; fidya, expiation; abstinence from food and drink.

2. See above, p. 95; and cf. al-Ḡazālī, "The Zakāh on Breaking the Fast of Ramaḍān", pp. 13-15 of The Mysteries of Almsgiving.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE NIGHT OF POWER,
ff. 85b - 88a

لیلةُ القدر و حقیقةُ لیلة القَدر ن

This chapter deals with the Night of Power,[1] when the Prophet received his call and the first verses of the Qur'ān were revealed. Ibn Qasī says that the Night of Power means that the mystic comes to Truth by first enduring suffering and darkness. Following āya 97:3,[2] he says that the Night of Power is better than a thousand months because Truth is revealed.

The important point is that night is symbolic for potentiality because of the possibilities that it contains for manifestation. The mystical "night" is one of suffering until an awareness of its potentialities is recognised; with this recognition of its power, the night takes on the characteristics of perfect receptibility and peace.[3]

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1. Cf. sūra 97. Palmer, Oriental Mysticism, p. 36, associates this sūra with the power of Primal Intelligence (al-'Arš).

2. Q. 97:3 - "Better is the Night of Qadr than a thousand months." Cf. Q. 22:47 - "Each day of His is like a thousand years in your reckoning."

3. See Burckhardt (...Sufi Doctrine, 1963 ed., p. 44) for his discussion of the inner meaning of the sūrat al-qadr.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER IN THE SCHEME OF THIS BOOK, ff. 88a - 88b

الفصل السّادس عشرون محل هن الرّسالة ن

Ibn Qasī uses this last chapter for some short, closing remarks about his process of mystical revelation:

كشفت الغطاء و رفعت الحجاب و دللت على الاسرار
المكنونة فى الكتب المخزونة ...

I pulled away the veil,[1] and I lifted the curtain.
I indicated the hidden secrets[2] in the stored-away books.

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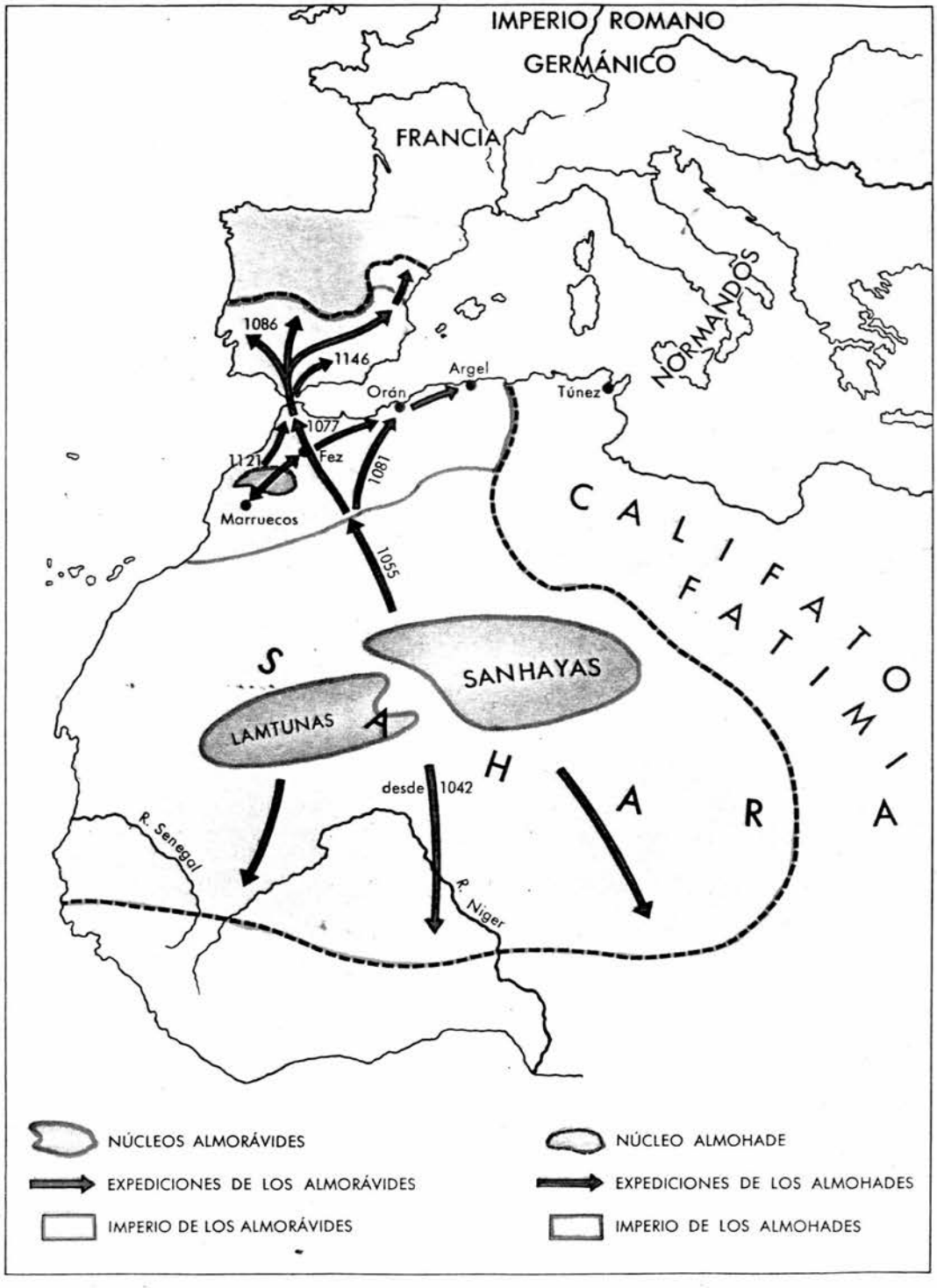
1. Cf. al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjúb, pp. 8-9: "From the standpoint of Unification (tawhíd) it is polytheism to assert that any such veils exist, but in this world everything is veiled, by its being, from Unification, and the spirit is held captive by admixture and association with phenomenal being. Hence the intellect can hardly comprehend those Divine mysteries, and the spirit can but dimly perceive the marvels of nearness to God." Q. 42:51 says: "It is not vouchsafed to any mortal that Allah should speak to him except by revelation, or from behind a veil, or through a messenger..."

2. Ibn Qasī frequently employs the word sirr, literally "secret". Nicholson, translating al-Hujwīrī's Kashf al-Mahjúb, variously describes sirr as "heart" (p. 333), "spirit" (p. 373), or "concealment of feelings of love" (p. 385). Arberry's translation of al-Kalābādī refers to sirr as "conscience" (p. 76). Finally, Burckhardt gives the following in his glossary to Ibn al-'Arabī's The Wisdom of the Prophets: "sirr: secret, mystery. In Sufism, as-sirr denotes also the intimate and ineffable centre of the consciousness, the 'point of contact' between the individual and his Divine principle..."

Ibn Qasī says that he came close to what orthodox Muslims would call heresy, and even admits to questioning fate itself. Once again, he says that the knowledge in his book is not for the people in general, but rather for the esoteric instruction of a select few. The book ends with the customary praise of God and the invocation of peace upon Muḥammad, his family and his Companions:

و صلى الله على سيدنا محمّد و على إله و صحبه أجمعين ن

XXXII. ALMORAVIDES Y ALMOHADES



J. Vicens Vives, Atlas de Historia de España, Barcelona, 1969 (6th ed.)

PART THREE

CONCLUSION

By the middle of the eleventh century, Occidental Islam seemed to have suffered an irreparable decadence. In the western Maġrib, the disappearance of Fāṭimid influence made way for a reversion to chronic and debilitating tribal rivalries.[1] In al-Andalus, the caliphate of Córdoba, after more than twenty years of civil war, was declared to be ended in 1031, leaving an enormous political and religious vacuum in Western Islam. The subsequent formation of petty kingdoms in Andalusia exacerbated the whole situation. While these Taifa courts became renowned for the brilliance of their resident scholars, they only accelerated the political and religious disintegration of Islamic Spain, a condition made all the more perilous because of the growing momentum of the Christian Reconquista. The intellectual sophistication of the Taifa kingdoms, during a period of political decay, has appropriately been compared with the Italian principalities of the sixteenth century.[2]

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1. Bosch-Vilá, Los Almorávides, p. 298, gives the following description: "Es una historia de tribus sin norte fijo, agitadas por el jāriŷismo y la ši'īa, [sic] y sólo medio illuminada por el foco idrīsí de Fez."

2. See Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 97.

Just when no new forces seemed evident in Western Islam, there occurred simultaneous invasions of the Maġrib about 1050. The Arabian bedouins of the Banū Hilāl and the Banū Sulaym invaded from what was then Fāṭimid Egypt, and the Ṣanhāja nomads left the Sahara and began to conquer the western Maġrib. These simultaneous invasions were disconnected events, except that both movements were carried out by nomadic tribes displaced by the collapse of Fāṭimid influence in North Africa.[1] "The difference in the character of the two invasions can be explained mainly in terms of the religious discipline to which the Sanhaja, unlike the Arabian, tribes were subjected by their leaders."[2] These Ṣanhāja Berbers were forming what was to become the Almoravid state.

The nomadic Ṣanhājas had traditionally depended on trade with the Sudan for most of their livelihood; the commerce usually involved the exchange of salt for Sudanese gold. By the 11th century, however, this vital trade was threatened by incursions from the Zanāta Berbers and the Soninke state of Ghana. It was

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1. The Arabian bedouins were actually enticed by the Fāṭimid caliph, who feared their power, into invading the eastern Maġrib and punishing the rebellious Zirids.

2. Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 92.

precisely at this time of political and economic peril that a religious movement succeeded in revitalising the Ṣanhāja nomads. A chief from the Jaddāla tribe, Yaḥyā Ibn Ibrāhīm, went on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1035. Intent on reverting the Ṣanhājas to the strict tenets of Islam, this chief returned in the company of a religious scholar called ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Yāsīn. The approaches of the two men failed, however, and they retired with a few disciples to an island, where they hoped to seek their own salvation. A rābiṭa was founded, and this institution began to attract other followers from among the various Ṣanhāja tribes.[1] Following a strict religious discipline and preparing themselves for a holy war, the men of this community formed the original core of the al-Murābiṭūn.[2] By 1042, Ibn Ibrāhīm had about 3,000 warriors under his command, and he began a campaign against fellow Ṣanhājas whom he considered as apostates.

The essential point to remember is that the Almoravid movement was originally based on strictly religious motivations. It has even been speculated that Ibn Yāsīn was a Kārijite, which would certainly

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1. The principal groups were the Lamtūna, Jaddāla, Massūfa, Ǧuzūla and Lamṭa.

2. The Spanish Almorávide is a corruption of this Arabic original. The association of the Almoravids with an actual rābiṭa has been questioned by P.F. de Moraes Farias; see his article " The Almoravids:... " in Bulletin de l'Institut francais d'Afrique Noire, vol. 29B (1967), pp. 794-878.

account for his religious zeal and the stress he placed on the jihād.[1] The Ṣanhāja tribes were gradually brought over by the Almoravid warriors, who generally refrained from taking spoils of war. This religious unification proved to be the vehicle for great political and economic expansion. After securing the western Sahara, the Almoravids turned their attention to the fertile plains of Morocco, held by their old enemies, the Zanāta Berbers. The Zanātas, separated by prevailing clan rivalries, were never able to present a united front to the advancing Almoravids. Furthermore, the nomadic Ṣanhājas, accustomed to a hard and precarious existence, always held a great advantage over the sedentary Zanātas.[2] The rapid

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1. See Nasr, A History of the Maghrib, p. 95, note 2. This speculation seems all the more plausible if one considers the extensive influence of the al-Ibāḍiyya in western and central Sudan during the 11th century. In any case, it is known that Ibn Yāsīn was associated with the Mālikites before his recruitment by Ibn Ibrāhīm.

2. See Bosch-Vilá, Los Almorávides, p. 299. Designation of the Zanāta as sedentary may cause some confusion and so requires elaboration. Ibn Kaldūn divided the Berbers into three major groups: Zanāta, Ṣanhāja, and Maṣmūda. The Zanātas were predominantly nomadic until their co-operation with the Arabic conquerors made many Zanāta tribes progressively more sedentary. The widely dispersed Ṣanhāja have two major groupings: the sedentary Kabylia and the nomadic Zanaga of the western Sahara. The Maṣmūda were the only completely sedentary Berbers of Morocco, living originally in the High Atlas mountains. Cf. Nasr, ibid., p. 9.

pacification of Morocco by the Almoravids was also facilitated by reduced taxation and by the unifying influence of the Mālikite theologians.

Political consolidation of the Almoravid empire ultimately proved to be impossible. For the Maġrib, a Berber national consciousness never developed under the Almoravids; the Ṣanhājas of the desert were strangers in Morocco, and they were bitterly resented by the conquered Zanāta tribes. So the Almoravids were never able to permeate Morocco with their religious and political ideologies. This basic weakness, coupled with the extended campaigns in al-Andalus, eventually led to the destruction of the Almoravids by the Maṣmūda Berbers.

In the case of the Maṣmūda, their vehicle for political domination of the Maġrib was also originally in the form of a religious crusade. The principal figure in this movement was Ibn Tūmart; as a young man, he had travelled in the East and had been strongly influenced by al-Ġazālī and the Aš'arites. Returning to his homeland, Ibn Tūmart found the disciple who was to be his successor: 'Abd al-Mu'min of the Kūmīya Berbers. Once in Almoravid territory, Ibn Tūmart began to preach openly against the authorities and their support for the Mālikite theologians; he especially condemned literal interpretation of the Qur'ān that led to giving material attributes to God.[1] The basic message of Ibn Tūmart was

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1. Ibn Tūmart used the term tajsīm, "embodiment", to describe this doctrine. The theological term for anthropomorphisation of God is tašbīh.

tawḥīd, the unity of God's attributes, as elaborated principally by the Mu'tazilites. Banished by the Almoravids, Ibn Tūmart retired to the mountainous country of his tribe, and there fanned the smouldering resentment that the Maṣmūda Berbers held for the Ṣanhāja Almoravids. Calling his enemies mujassim (anthropomorphists), the followers of Ibn Tūmart took the name of al-Muwaḥḥidūn[1] (the Unitarians) and began a holy war. The Almohad movement, despite its undoubted religious impetus, was becoming the dominant political force in North Africa by about the year 1140.

The career of Ibn Qasī corresponds exactly to this period of confrontation between the Almoravids and the Almohads. Before 1140, Ibn Qasī had established his rābiṭa near Silves; like Ibn Ibrāhīm of the Almoravids and Ibn Tūmart of the Almohads, his original motivations seem to have been essentially religious. Similarly, Ibn Qasī's religious organisation developed into a political force. The relevant question is then why the murīdūn of Silves had such fleeting success when measured against the Almoravids or the Almohads. Ibn Kaldūn gives an essential portion of the answer: "(Ibn Qasî) had some success, because the Lamtûnah (Almoravids) were pre-occupied with their own difficulties with the Almohads. (But) there were no groups and tribes there to defend him."[2] This lack of a tribal base was obviously a

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1. Al-Muwaḥḥidūn has been corrupted to the Spanish Almohade.
2. The Muqaddimah, vol. I, p. 323.

great disadvantage. The muwallad insurrections of ninth century al-Andalus, directed against the Umayyad elite of Córdoba, still reflected tribal divisions and so managed to last for about thirty years. With the fall of Córdoba and its Arab aristocracy, however, the neo-Muslims of al-Andalus lost all possibilities for sustained, cohesive action. The result for Islamic Spain was a fatal disability. Petty rulers proliferated, and Andalusia became progressively more defenceless against both Christian and African incursions.

With these general considerations in mind, some specific comparisons can be made between Ibn Qasī and his North African adversaries. Ibn Ibrāhīm, Ibn Tūmart and Ibn Qasī were all leaders of religious disciples who developed into military forces. The Almoravids, from their very name, are particularly associated with a rābiṭa, and the most frequent development of a rābiṭa was into a ribāṭ, as religious conviction was transformed into the action of a holy war. The concept of jihād was especially vigorous among the Almoravids and the Almohads. Ibn Ibrāhīm, possibly influenced by the Kārijites, was zealous in attacking the laxity of his own tribe. Later, Ibn Tūmart declared his own jihād against the Almoravids. For Ibn Qasī, however, the essential meaning of jihād was ascetic combat,[1] and he evidently did not use the term to

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1. Ibn al-ʿArīf specifically uses the word mujāhada to describe ascetic combat against the desires of the self; see Maḥāsin, p. 85.

describe his military activities. Similarly, economic factors are of only secondary consideration for an examination of Ibn Qasī's insurrections. By contrast, powerful economic motivations assisted the rise of both the Almoravids and the Almohads. Threats to Ṣanhāja trade managed to unify all the affected tribes under the leadership of the Almoravids. With their subsequent expansion out of the Sahara, the fertile plains of Morocco became an irresistible attraction. Later, the Maṣmūda Berbers found the Almohad movement useful for descending from the Atlas mountains into those same fertile lowlands.

Ibn Qasī lived during the final decadence of Islamic Spain; this fact alone helps to explain his political failure. Paradoxically, this same decadence had also facilitated his rise. From the ninth century onwards, al-Andalus had been swinging between stability and instability. The school of Ibn Masarra arose during the disturbed period of the muwallad insurrections, and he was forced to retreat into the Sierra. Social stability and its resulting tolerance ensured the survival of Masarrite ideas during the tenth century. But the fitna of Córdoba and the subsequent disunity of the Taifas produced an almost fatal radicalisation of Masarrism under Ismā'īl al-Ru'aynī. The later school of Ibn al-'Arīf grew up within the stability offered by the city of Almería. With the

growing conflict between the Almoravids and the Almohads, however, Islamic Spain was once again thrown into turmoil, and Andalusians like Ibn Qasī were given the opportunity for insurrection.

Circumstances seem to have forced Ibn Qasī into the role of political leader. The rābiṭa at Silves, originally the isolated home of the murīdūn, increasingly became a rallying-point for dissident elements. Ibn Qasī may even have begun the practice of admitting lay brothers into the rābiṭa in the hope of retaining some control over the situation.[1] But the evidence is that Ibn Qasī never really had effective control over the Algarbe insurrections which he came to symbolise, nor did he personally engage in any military actions. The conquest of Mértola is associated with Ibn Qasī, but this city was actually taken by Ibn al-Qābila and seventy "murīdūn",[2] who were probably experienced military men rather than mystical disciples. The other insurrections of the Algarbe were led by opportunistic chieftains who only superficially pledged allegiance to Ibn Qasī at Mértola. Consequently, Ibn Qasī never had any comprehensive political control of the Algarbe, and rebellions like that of Ibn Wazīr soon

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1. Al-Ġazālī applied the term rukṣa to the relaxation, under pressure of circumstances, of certain Sufi rules. Ibn Qasī, like as-Suhrawardī, may have used rukṣa to justify lay members (mutašabbihūn) of his religious community; cf. as-Suhrawardī, A Sufi Rule for Novices, pp. 18-19.

2. See the account in al-Kaṭīb, ...l'Espagne Musulmane, pp. 287-288.

forced him to seek aid from the Almohads. The astute Ibn al-Mu'min recognised the political weakness of Ibn Qasī but, nevertheless, appointed him as puppet governor of Silves because of his residual spiritual influence. With the subsequent Andalusian insurrections against the Almohads, Ibn Qasī, alone among all the rebels, refused to surrender. He may have feared, with good reason, deportation away from his rābiṭa to Marrākuš. Ibn Qasī always seemed intent on preserving his spiritual community at all costs, and in this case he turned to the Portuguese Christians for assistance. The popular nature of the conspiracy that led to his death is easy to imagine, but it must be clearly stated that Ibn Qasī died defending his murīdūn and not by their hands, as some accounts suggest.[1]

The importance of Ibn Qasī to Sufism is indicated in the twentieth chapter of his Kal' an-Na'layn, "as-Simsima". Like a tiny sesame seed, the mystical life of Ibn Qasī was destined to flourish into something much greater; he was the last important Andalusian Sufi before the appearance of the Šayḫ al-Aḫbār, Ibn al-'Arabī of Murcia. As detailed in the present study, Ibn al-'Arabī acknowledged his debt to Ibn Masarra and Ibn al-'Arīf, both masters of Ibn Qasī. But there are even more specific links. Most of Ibn al-'Arabī's early studies were undertaken in Sevilla, a city that followed the mystical traditions of Ibn Barrajān, Ibn Qasī's fellow disciple at Almería.

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1. See especially al-Marrākušī and Ibn al-Ḫaṭīb in the sources cited above, p. 39.

Ibn al-ʿArabī's first esoteric master at Sevilla was Abū Jaʿfar al-ʿUryanī, a native of the Algarbe;[1] this šayḵ, definitely familiar with the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArīf, probably knew his fellow Sufi and countryman Ibn Qasī. When Ibn al-ʿArabī journeyed to the Maġrib, it is known that he studied the Kal ʿ an-Naʿlayn in Tunis with one of Ibn Qasī's own sons.[2] Returning from Africa in 1198, it is also known that he visited the Sufi community at Almería and there wrote his Mawāqiʿ an-Nujūm.[3] Finally, Ibn al-ʿArabī's commentary on the Kal ʿ an-Naʿlayn is conclusive proof of Ibn Qasī's influence on the greatest of all Sufi masters.[4]

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1. Abū Jaʿfar was a native of al-ʿUlyāʾ (modern Loulé), a town to the west of Faro. Cf. Asín, Abenmasarra..., p. 114, note 2; and Ibn al-ʿArabī, Sufis of Andalusia, pp. 63-69.

2. Cf. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 264; and González, ...Literatura Arábigo-Española, pp. 230-241. Specific reference is made to the Kal ʿ an-Naʿlayn in Ibn al-ʿArabī, The Wisdom of the Prophets, p. 39, which mistakenly gives the author as "Imam Abu-l-Qāsim ibn Fâsi".

3. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, Sufis of Andalusia, p. 32. The Sufi master of Almería at this time was Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ġazālī, a direct disciple of Ibn al-ʿArīf.

4. There are two surviving MSS. of this commentary: Şehid Ali Pasa, No. 1174 (ff. 89a-175b), and Aya Sofya, No. 1879.

So the mystical legacy of Ibn Qasī is primarily associated with the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī. In a very real sense, Ibn al-ʿArabī rescued Islamic mysticism from the political disintegration of the West. He left Spain and eventually managed to permeate the mystical life of the East with his pantheistic Sufism.[1]

Finally, Ibn Qasī may have had some residual influence on the West during the 13th century. During this period in al-Andalus there were Sufi centres in Sevilla, Córdoba, Almería and Málaga. These mystical schools, existing at a time of great social and political decay, tended not to be innovative and looked instead to past masters such as Ibn al-ʿArīf for spiritual guidance.[2]

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1. This transmission was largely due to Ibn al-ʿArabī's disciple Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Qunawī, who had links with some of the most eminent Persian Sufis. See Ibn al-ʿArabī, Sufis of Andalusia, p. 49.

2. Ibn al-Mar'ah Ibn Dahhāq (d. 1214) of Málaga, for example, is known to have written a commentary on Ibn al-ʿArīf's Maḥāsin; see Massignon, Recueil..., p. 70. The absence of Ibn al-ʿArabī in the Islamic East also forced Andalusian Sufis of the time to rely heavily on past masters.

Despite a lack of specific information, it seems probable that Ibn Qasī's mystical influence likewise continued to be felt in Islamic Spain during the thirteenth century. There are also indications that Ibn Qasī's family fled to North Africa and there managed to disseminate his doctrines, which may have found acceptance in the popularised Sufism of Abū Madyan.[1]

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1. Abū Madyan (c. 1126-1197) was born near Sevilla and obviously came under the indirect influence of Ibn Barrajān. Abū Madyan formulated a composite, unsophisticated Sufism that gained great popularity when introduced into the Maġrib. See Smith, Rābi'a the Mystic, p. 193.

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